CENSUS OF INDIA, 1921.
VOLUME III.

ASSAM.

PART I.—REPORT.

BY

G. T. LLOYD,

OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE,

SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, ASSAM.

00103310

SHILLONG:

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS, ASSAM.

1923.

Price Rs. 4-8] Price 6s

00103310

Digitized with financial assistance from

H T Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 27 November, 2018

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1921.

VOLUME III.

ASSAM.

PART I.—REPORT.

103310

BY

G. T. LLOYD,

OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE,

SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, ASSAM.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

EE-K.36

SHILLONG:

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS, ASSAM.

1923.

Price Rs. 4-8] [*Price 6s.*

Agents for the sale of Books published by the Assam Government.

Agents in India.

(1) Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co. Calcutta.

(2) Messrs. W. Newman & Co., Calcutta.

(3) Messrs. S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta.

(4) Messrs. A. M. and J. Ferguson, Ceylon.

(5) Messrs. R. Cambray & Co., 6 and 8/2, Hastings Street, Calcutta.

(6) Messrs. Thompson & Co., Madras.

(7) Babu Hari Ram Dhar, B.A., Popular Library, Dacca.

(8) Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 103 Meadon Street Fort, Post Box No. 187. Bombay.

(9) The Indian School Supply Depôt, 309, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta.

(10) Messrs. Rai M. C. Sarkar Bahadur & Sons, 90-2A, Harison Road, Calcutta.

(11) Messrs. Students & Co., Cooch Bihar.

(12) Messrs. Vas & Co., Madras.

(13) The Standard Literature Co. Limited, 23-1, Old Court House Street, Calcutta,

(14) The Standard Book Stall, Karachi.

(15) Mr. Mangaldas Harkisandas, Surat.

(16) Messrs. Karsandas, Narandas & Sons of Surat.

(17) Munshi Seeta Ram, Managing Proprietor, Indian Army Book Depôt Juhi, Cownpore.

(18) Proprietor, New Kitabkhana, Poona.

(19) The Association Press, Calcutta.

(20) The Manager, The Hitavada Craddock—Town, Nagpur.

Agents in Great Britain.

(1) Messrs. Constable & Co., 10, Orange Street, Leicester Square, W. C.

(2) Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 68—74, Carter Lane, E. C., London, Oriental Department, 39, New Oxford Street, London, W. C.

(3) Mr. B. Quaritch, 11, Grafton Street, New Bond Street, W.

(4) Messrs. P. S. King & Son, 9, Bridge Street, Westminster, S. W., London.

(5) Mr B. H. Blackwell, 50 and 51, Broad Street, Oxford.

(6) Messrs. Deighton Bell & Co., Limited, Cambridge.

(7) Messrs. Henry S. King & Co., 65, Cornhill, E. C., London.

(8) Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, S. W. London.

(9) Messrs. W. Thacker & Co., 2, Creed Lane, London, E. C.

(10) Messrs. Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London W. C.

(11) Mr. J. Fisher Unwin, Limited 1 Adelphia Terrace, London, W. C.

(12) Messrs. Weldon and Wesley Limited, 2, 3 & 4, Aurthur Street, New Oxford Street, London, W. C. 2.

(13) Messrs. Oliver and Boyd, Tweedale Court, Edinburgh.

(14) Messrs. E. Ponsonby, Ltd., 116, Grafton Street, Dublin.

Agents on the Continent of Europe.

(1) M. Barbest Leroux, 28, Rue Bonaparte, Paris.

(2) MM. Friedländer & Sohn 11, Carlstrasse, Berlin.

(3) M. Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig.

(4) Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague.

R 312.0954
CenGnd/Ass/Rep
10331 0

SHILLONG:

PRINTED BY H. E. KING, SUPERINTENDENT ASSAM GOVERNMENT PRESS.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PARA.		PAGE
1—10.	INTRODUCTION	i—v
1—46.	CHAPTER I.—DISTRIBUTION AND MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION.	
1—3.	(i) The area dealt with	1
4—5.	(ii) The population dealt with	1—2
6—7.	(iii) Area, population, and density ...	2—3
8—10.	(iv) Variations at previous censuses ...	3-4
11—19.	(v) Conditions of the decade 1911—1921 ...	4—7
20—23.	(vi) The movement of the population ...	7—9
24—46.	(vii) Density and variation in natural divisions	9—22
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	23—28
47—50.	CHAPTER II.—THE POPULATION OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES	29—31
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	32—33
51—63.	CHAPTER III.—BIRTHPLACE	34—44
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	45—49
64—74.	CHAPTER IV.—RELIGION	50—58
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	59—61
75—86.	CHAPTER V.—AGE	62—70
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	71—79
87—94.	CHAPTER VI.—SEX	80—84
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	85—90
95—102.	CHAPTER VII.—CIVIL CONDITION	91—95
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	96—101
103—111.	CHAPTER VIII.—LITERACY	102—108
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	109—113
112—124.	CHAPTER IX.—LANGUAGE	114—124
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	125—127
125—134.	CHAPTER X.—INFIRMITIES	128—136
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	137—140
135—143.	CHAPTER XI.—CASTE, TRIBE, RACE OR NATIONALITY ...	141—151
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	152—155
144—177.	CHAPTER XII.—OCCUPATION	
144—149.	(i) The occupations of the people ...	156—161
150—156.	(ii) Agriculture and animals ...	161—163
157.	(iii) Fishing	164
158—161.	(iv) Transport	164—165
162—166.	(v) Trade and Commerce	165—170
167—172.	(vi) Industries	170—176
173—176.	(vii) Labour	176—180
177.	(viii) Economic condition of the people ...	180—181
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	182—199

APPENDICES.

Appendix A.—	Vital statistics and census figures	viii—ix
,, B.—	I-IV Notes on certain frontier tribes	x—xvi
,, C.—	Connection of different Nagas and other tribes in Assam—their origin and customs.	xvii—xix
,, D.—	Disposal of the dead among Naga tribes and others ...	xx
,, E.—	Some cottage industries of Karimganj	xxi—xxvi
,, F.—	Family budgets	xxvii—xxxiv
,, G.—	Estimate of production and average individual income in 1921-22.	xxxv

INTRODUCTION.

Volumes of the report.

1. The Assam Census Report, which counts as Volume III in the series of provincial reports of India, has two parts—Part I, the report proper, and Part II, the Tables. These are printed in separate volumes, and in order to save the reader the trouble of constantly referring to the Tables Volume, and also to present the statistics in proportional instead of absolute form, a number of subsidiary tables is given in this (Report) volume. A third part, the Administrative Report, is also published, but this is purely for use at the next census and contains details of no general interest.

The plan of the present report differs little from that of the last census. Chapters I and II have been divided differently, but the subjects of the other chapters remain as before.

Previous censuses.

2. This, the sixth Census of Assam, was taken on the evening of the 18th March 1921. In 1872 Assam was included in Bengal; in 1911, it was censused as a part of the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, but a separate report was written for Assam; in all the other decennial censuses, taken in 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1921, the province has been a separate unit

Changes since 1911.

3. A few additions have been made to the area censused in 1911. A tract of Konyak tribe territory in the north-east of the Naga Hills and some Khamti, Singpho, Abor, Mishmi and Naga villages to the north and east of the Sadiya Frontier Tract and the Lakhimpur district have been brought under census for the first time; and a small area with two villages has been transferred from Bengal to the Sylhet district.

An administrative change of importance has been the creation in 1912-14 of the two new districts, Sadiya and Balipara Frontier Tracts. The census of these tracts was taken only in the old settled parts transferred from the districts of Lakhimpur and Darrang, and in certain other parts regularly administered by the Political Officers. There is no defined outer boundary to these tracts, and no attempt was made to extend the census to the hills inhabited by tribes which are only under loose political control.

Census divisions and personnel.

4. Detailed accounts of the arrangements, difficulties and expenditure have been given in the Administrative Report, published separately. The procedure has differed little from that of 1911. The following general summary is given to enable the reader to understand how the results have been arrived at and to judge of the reliance to be placed on the statistics.

There are fourteen districts and one State included in the province. These contain thirty-four subdivisions including those directly under district headquarters. As in previous censuses, every district was divided into blocks, each under an enumerator (almost always a local man), whose duty it was to make the entries in the 16 columns of the general schedule for every person in the block. There were over 47,000 such blocks, containing on an average 36 houses.

In the remoter parts of the hills, where long distances separate villages and literate men are scarce, the enumerators had to deal with much larger blocks. In the hill mauzas of the Garo Hills, for instance, the average rose as high as 177 houses. Tribal blocks in the Naga Hills were equal to circles and in some cases contained over 2,000 houses. In such cases the enumerator took several weeks to make his round.

Blocks were grouped into census circles of about 400 houses each; the circles were combined into charges each under a Charge Superintendent, whose charge usually embraced about 15 circles or 6,000 houses. Circles and charges were arranged generally to coincide with administrative units such as mauzas and thanas.

In each subdivision of a district, the Charge Superintendents were directly under the Subdivisional Census Officer, who was either the Subdivisional Officer himself or a gazetted officer of his staff.

In general control of the district was the District Officer; in Manipur, the President of the Darbar under the supervision of the Political Agent.

The Charge Superintendents and a number of the circle supervisors were officials of the Police, Revenue, and other Departments, and did the work as a rule in addition to their ordinary duties; the enumerators were almost all non-officials.

With the exception of a few paid men in hill tracts, the whole of the census staff in the districts worked without remuneration and more or less voluntarily.

The total number of census officers employed was nearly 50,000. Detailed instructions for these were laid down in codes and books, and in the winter of 1920-21 they were all trained in their duties by the next higher officials in the chain, ending with the Subdivisional Census Officers. In the course of my tours I attended meetings of the census officials in most subdivisions, explained procedure and discussed difficulties.

The diversity of questions to be answered in the schedules, the detailed instructions under each heading, the illiteracy of the people and the various caste, language and social disputes which arose made the task of training no easy one. The result achieved reflects the greatest credit, in most districts, on all who took part.

Enumeration and provisional totals.

5. The census of Israel and Judah taken by Joab for King David occupied nine months and twenty days, and even then only the numbers of the people and of fighting men were placed on record. The Indian Census records many other diverse statistics and, with all its primitive methods, can certainly lay claim to greater speed than this in the actual counting and reporting, as the following notes will show.

In October and November 1920, numbers were put on all houses by the enumerators. A house was defined as the dwelling place of a commensal family.

In January and February 1921, a preliminary enumeration was made. The entries were made usually on blank paper and were inspected and corrected where necessary by the supervisors and Charge Superintendents.

On the Census night, by which time the rough drafts had been copied into the schedules, the enumerators went round their blocks for the final enumeration, which consisted in reading over the entries at each house, striking out absentees, and entering up new arrivals.

In the greater part of the Hills, this final enumeration was impossible and the preliminary entries were used as final. This omission has little effect on the accuracy of the census, however. In many cases modifications for births, deaths and new arrivals were made on the reports of village headmen received close up to the final census date, and generally owing to the immobile nature of the hill people the *de jure* population statistics obtained by this method are quite accurate enough for all ordinary purposes.

Special arrangements were made for enumeration of travellers, troops, survey parties, wandering gangs, tea gardens, forest areas and mooring ghats. Night trains were halted at special stations and in mail trains and steamers a special runnig staff carried out the passengers' census *en route*. On the Brahmaputra and other great rivers patrol boats with special enumerators were stationed to catch travellers by boat.

On the morning after the census the enumerators of each circle assembled with their supervisors and circle totals were struck for occupied houses and for population by sex. These were sent at once to Charge Superintendents, who made summaries and despatched them to district or subdivisional headquarters. To get these summaries in as quickly and safely as possible all kinds of conveyance were pressed into service—horse, bicycle, motor car, train, steamer, boat, runner, elephant and the telegraph were all used in various places.

The preparation and checking of totals of the different units and their despatch in many instances for long distances over difficult country necessarily took some time; nevertheless all the district totals were made up and telegraphed to the Census Commissioner and the Provincial Superintendent by the 8th day after the census. These provisional totals were found to differ by less than 1 in a thousand from the final corrected totals prepared later in the tabulation offices. The honours for swiftness and accuracy fell to Sadiya Frontier Tract and Cachar. The former was the first and only district to telegraph its figures on the 20th March—less than 36 hours after the official time for ending the census; the total differed by only ·02 per cent. from the final corrected total. The Cachar total which was wired on the morning of the 21st was the most accurate in the province, showing a difference of only 4 per hundred thousand on a population of over half a million.

Tabulation.

6. After the despatch of provisional totals the schedules were sent to copying offices. Of these there were five, *viz.*, 2 central offices for the Assam and Surma Valleys at Gauhati and Sylhet and three at district headquarters for Manipur, Lushai Hills and the Khasi Hills.

No mechanical processes of sorting or tabulation were introduced. As in 1901 and 1911, every person enumerated was allotted a slip showing by colour, printed symbols and copied entries all the particulars entered in the schedule against his name. The preparation of the slips took about three months with a staff of some 450 men ; this stage would have been finished much more quickly but for a dearth of suitable copyists and consequent slow work in the Lushai Hills.

All the slips were sent to the two central offices for sorting. This process was finished in September, about six months after the census. Tickets showing particulars required for all the tables were prepared for the smaller units and groups by the sorters and these were entered up in compilation registers at the Gauhati Central office. Compilation of figures for all the important tables was finished by February 1922, when the Gauhati office was closed. Certain tables were left to be prepared in the head office at Shillong, notably the industrial (factory and cottage industry) tables for which special schedules had been issued, one or two of the occupational tables and the subsidiary tables for all the chapters of this volume.

Final checking and printing of the tables and report was done at Shillong also.

Cost.

7. The cost of this census is necessarily much greater than those of previous years. The war of 1914-18 and other world causes combined to raise wages and prices. We had therefore to pay more to our copyists, sorters and compilers and more for our paper and printing than in former years. Further, for administrative reasons, I was detailed by Government for other duties away from my headquarters, for about 8 months in the years 1921 and 1922. This added the cost of retention of the Superintendent and his staff for a longer period than would otherwise have been necessary, and has delayed my report by several months.

Taking the actual cost of the first two years, and the estimated cost of the third year (certain printing accounts are not yet finally adjusted), the total extra cost to Government is Rs. 1,12,835. This gives a cost per thousand of the population of Rs. 14-1-11 against Rs. 7-1-0 in 1911 and Rs. 11-2-0 in 1901. Comparison with 1911 is hardly fair, as the greater part of the work for Assam was combined with that of Eastern Bengal and the cost per head is naturally lower the larger the population involved. Considering the rise in prices, the addition of two new districts and the expansion of certain of the tables, the cost compares not unfavourably with that of 1901.

Attitude of the people.

8. We have not had at this census any such serious mishaps as those of 1911, which caused Mr. McSwiney to compare the course of census operations to that of true love. The printing and distribution of forms, in particular, went much more smoothly than was the case in 1911. Our chief trouble was delay caused by reflection of political and industrial disputes. It is true that the great apostle of non-co-operation decreed that the census should not be boycotted, and we had therefore very little trouble from that cause. But we had two or three strikes of the copyists in the central offices while railway strikes delayed receipt of completed slips at the sorting offices in some cases.

The attitude of the people, on the whole, was one of indifference. The novelty of the census had already worn off before the last census was taken, and by this time, many people find it a nuisance. As exceptions to this must be noted those who are striving for social or other advancement and saw in the census a chance of adding evidence to support their claims. This has been discussed in the caste and language chapters. The better educated people also generally took more interest and helped to make the record accurate. The army of supervisors and enumerators objected in many cases to work without pay. They were, of course, bound to do the work, under penalty provided in the Census Act, but it could not be expected that this form of lawful compulsory labour should be popular, especially when our budget in the first year was cut so low that the census volunteers had usually to provide their own pens, ink and blank paper and material for house-numbering.

A few men were fined, and more were warned, for neglect or refusal of duty, but in the end the great majority of census officials did the work cheerfully and did it to the best of their ability. In Sibsagar, the Deputy Commissioner in course of his tours frequently asked the people if they would prefer a special tax to a little gratuitous labour, and was then met with ready acquiescence. Tea planters in some cases took an active interest and in others gave no help at all. The people of Sylhet made little objection. It would seem that their attitude to the census has changed since 1881, when an Indian gentleman of position (possibly not himself a native of the district) described them thus—"Ferocious as tigers, resentful as bears, obstinate as pigs, senseless as savages.....certainly a dangerous set of men to deal with.....of a very

turbulent nature."* Certificates have been distributed to supervisors and enumerators in most cases over district officers' signatures, but I take this opportunity of rendering thanks to all those unpaid workers who helped to make the census a success.

Utility of the Census.

9. There are still many people who ask what there can be new to write in a census report. It is true that in studies of the people, ethnographical, linguistic and so forth, we cannot be expected to add much of interest to what has been written in past census reports and in special publications. But we have at least wholly new sets of statistics to work on, and it can scarcely be denied that the latest statistics and the exposition of their meaning must be of value to administrators as well as to students, especially in a province with such diversities of climate, community and customs as are found in Assam. It has been laid down that at the present census attention is to be devoted more to the statistical aspect and changes in the last decade than to matters of academic or general interest.

While the old saying that anything can be proved by statistics is nonsense, there is no doubt that anything can be proved by a wrong use of statistics. Especially is there a danger in a census conducted by the primitive methods which we use that meticulous care in deduction may outrun the accuracy of the data. The data depend a good deal on the personality and intelligence of the enumerators and the subordinate staff in the abstraction offices, although inaccuracy is to a great extent eliminated by supervision and check. I have endeavoured to avoid this pitfall, but I cannot claim that all conclusions in the various parts of the report are correct; and this must be my apology for a somewhat frequent use of the words 'probably,' 'possibly,' 'suggested explanation' and so forth. For the same reason, I have considered that elaborate mathematical analyses would be generally out of place until we have some firmer data to go on in matters such as age, literacy and division of occupations.

Acknowledgments.

10. As always, the brunt of the work, up to the actual census, fell on the District Officers and their Subdivisional Officers and Census Officers. I am indebted to them the more in view of the heavy extra industrial and economic enquiries which had to be made by them in connection with this census, in pursuance of the wishes of the Government of India.

Particular acknowledgments are due to Messrs. N. E. Parry, I.C.S., and T. P. M. O'Callaghan, I.P., for their arrangements in the Garo Hills and Sadiya Frontier Tract; to Lieutenant-Colonel Playfair, I.A., for his personal interest in settling language and caste disputes in Goalpara; to Mr. W. A. Cosgrave, I.C.S., for infusing life into the dry bones of the census at Lakhimpur. Mr. Cosgrave took charge of the district when the census arrangements were far behind those of all other districts, and assisted ably by his census officer, Mr. G. C. Bardoloi, Extra Assistant Commissioner, evolved order out of chaos in a few weeks.

Among district and subdivisional census officers, the greatest credit is due to Extra Assistant Commissioners Srijut Bhabataran Das of Nowgong, Babu Radha Ranjan Dhar of Habiganj, and Babu Rajani Kanta Rai Dastidar of Silchar. I have to thank Mr. K. Cantlie, Subdivisional Officer of North Lakhimpur, for his personal care in pursuit and elaboration of the economic and industrial questions.

The co-operation of all the municipalities was freely given; special mention must be made of the help received from the Chairmen of Nowgong and Jorhat Municipalities.

Acknowledgments are due to the Bengal Government for allowing the great mass of our forms, running into several millions, in several languages, to be printed at the Presidency Jail Press, and to the Press and Forms Manager, Bengal, for care and expedition in the work; to Mr. H. H. King, Superintendent of the Assam Secretariat Press, and to Babu D. C. Nandi, who acted for him during leave periods, for care and attention in the printing of our numerous codes and instructions, as well as of this Report and the Tables; and to Messrs. A. B. Smart and E. G. Hardinge of the Shillong Drawing office for advice and preparation of maps and diagrams. For a drawing from which diagram No. 11 in Chapter XII has been reproduced I have to thank Mr. D. K. Rennick of the Survey of India.

---

* See Report on the Census of Assam, 1881.

To the numerous gentlemen who have acted as honorary correspondents on social, industrial and religious matters, I tender my thanks. From their reports I have obtained much of the matter incorporated in several chapters of this report, but it is impossible to mention them all separately. Rai Bahadur Aghor Nath Adhikari of Silchar in particular has supplied me with a mass of interesting information and comment. He is a veteran of five censuses, having passed by successive stages from a boy carrying the paint-pot for the enumerator in 1881, to Charge Superintendent in 1911 and 1921.

I am obliged to Babu Sures Chandra Sen, Deputy Superintendent of the Gauhati Central office, for much valuable advice at the beginning of the operations, and later for his careful and unremitting work in preparation of the tables. My Head Clerk at Shillong, Babu Iswar Chandra Purkayastha, B.A., though new to census at first, has proved himself an able assistant; he has saved me much labour by his careful checking and supervision and has prepared the industrial and many of the Subsidiary Tables himself. Most of my staff at the head and central offices have worked hard and spared no pains: to them also I am indebted.

G. T. LLOYD,

Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam.

SHILLONG,
December 1922.

REPORT

ON

THE CENSUS OF ASSAM, 1921.

CHAPTER I.

DISTRIBUTION AND MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION.

(*i*) THE AREA DEALT WITH.

History and additions.

1. A summary of the physical and economic conditions and recent political history of the province was given in the last census report,* and more detailed accounts are available in Gait's History of Assam, the Imperial Gazetteer and earlier census reports. It is unnecessary to repeat this information. The area dealt with is a little greater than that of 1911, the additions being two villages transferred from Bengal to Sylhet, and certain areas in the Naga Hills and the North-East frontier districts now brought under administrative control and consequently rendered possible to census. These have added about 24,000 to the population. No attempt was made to extend the operations to more remote tribal areas under only loose political control.

Political changes.

2. Before proceeding to a discussion of the statistics, I have to note certain political and administrative changes which have occurred in the last ten years.

On the break up of Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1912, Assam reverted to its former status of a Chief Commissionership, but on January 3rd, 1921, it was constituted a Governor's Province, with an Executive Council and Ministers, the latter being responsible to a Legislative Council with an elected majority. The franchise has been extended and members are nominated also to represent certain politically inarticulate communities such as Labour and inhabitants of backward tracts.

A proposal to abolish the two Commissionerships has been made. During the last ten years, however, they have remained the same, except for the separation from the Assam Valley Division of the two frontier tracts, Sadiya and Balipara. These two districts were newly constituted in 1912 and 1914 from parts of the Lakhimpur and Darrang districts and are now in charge of Political Officers directly under the Local Government.

Natural Divisions.

3. Three natural divisions, the Brahmaputra Valley, the Surma Valley and the Hills, have been taken as in 1911 as the basis of discussion of certain of the census statistics. Most of the subsidiary tables in this report have been arranged accordingly; while in the Imperial and Provincial tables in Part II (the Tables Volume) figures appear by administrative divisions.

The coloured map at the beginning of this volume shows all the divisions and the main physical features of the province.

(*ii*) THE POPULATION DEALT WITH.

Population.

4. The population enumerated is 7,990,246 or nearly a million more than that of the last census. There were no great disturbing factors of a temporary nature at the time, and the number represents the normal population. In the greater part of the province, censused synchronously, we are dealing with the *de facto* population of the census night, persons living and actually present. In non-synchronous districts, *viz.*:—the Naga, North Cachar, and Manipur Hills, parts of the Garo and Khasi and Jaintia Hills and the frontier tracts, the figures show the *de jure* population, or persons ordinarily resident, with the addition of a few traders and visitors who happened to be making lengthy stays in the country. These were noted by the enumerators at varying times

* Report on the Census of Assam, 1911, pages 1-4.

from 2 weeks to 2 months before the census date, and the number thus counted was altogether about three-quarters of a million. Taking the average hills rate of increase as 8 per cent. in the 10 years, and average time of one month before the census as date of counting, we can conclude that the number so censused was about 500 less than it would have been if the whole count had been on the exact census date. This is a maximum figure, as in many cases the non-synchronous count was supplemented by reports of chiefs or headmen at a later date. The difference is negligible in an analysis of the ten-year period.

Accuracy of census.

5. Very few reports have been received of omission or double-counting, and the supervision and check by superior officers was so constant that there is little doubt of the accuracy of the synchronous count; I do not think it differs by more than a few persons in a million from the actual number. As to the hill areas, the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills writes "It is probable that the immobile nature of the people has rendered the non-synchronous census far more accurate than any synchronous census would be"; and this may be taken as typical of other similar areas.

There is a possibility of some omissions in the case of travellers and wanderers, but the number of these (given in Imperial Table III, last column) is not great, and the arrangements left little room for any persons to escape.

(*iii*) AREA, POPULATION AND DENSITY.

Statistics of Population.

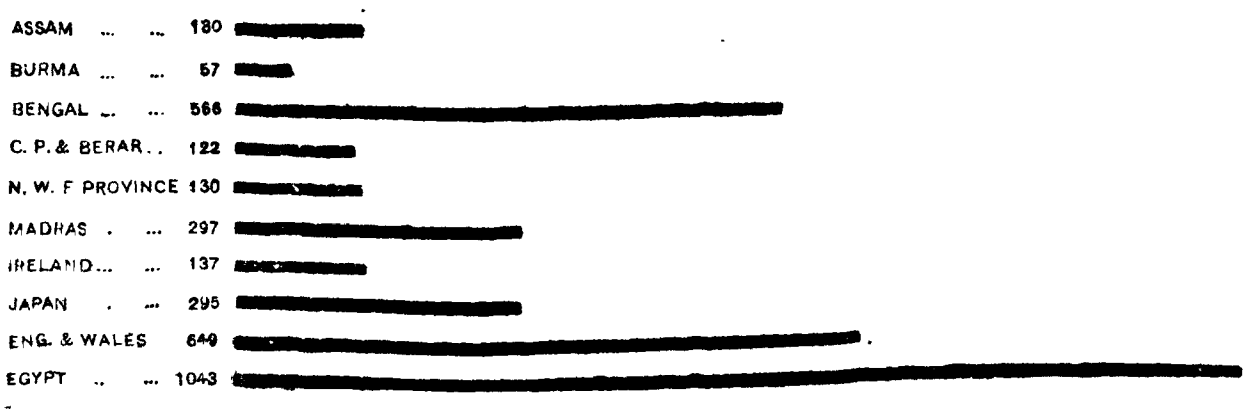
6. Imperial Table I shows the area and population, urban and rural, by sex, of the Province and its main political and administrative divisions, together with the number of towns, villages and houses. Provincial Table I gives similar statistics for minor subdivisions of districts, while the seven subsidiary tables at the end of this chapter are arranged to compare densities in the different areas, and variations from previous years, and to correlate them with certain agricultural and vital statistics.

Area and density.

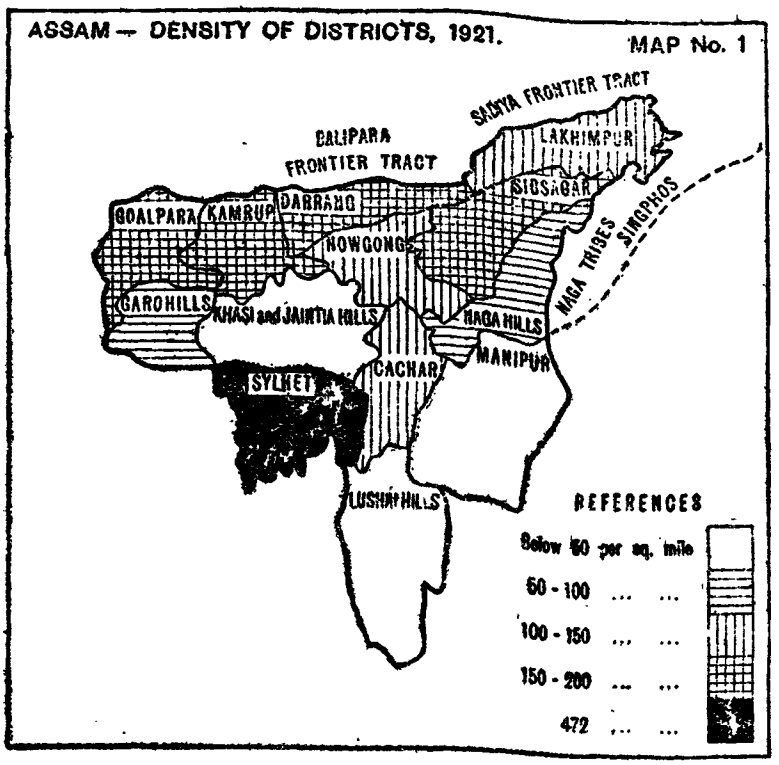
7. The statement in the margin shows the area, population and density of Assam and of its chief administrative divisions. The area of the province has been taken as in 1911; the real area is somewhat greater, but as there are no outer boundaries to the frontier tracts, the Survey department have not been able to supply any revised figures. Assam is larger than England and Wales, but carries a population little greater than that of Belgium, with a density only about one-fifth of that in either country. Calculated on the surveyed area, the mean density for the whole province is now 130, or 122 if we take the area of the Sadiya Frontier Tract as 4,200 square miles, as estimated by the Political Officer. This is an increase of 15 to the square mile since the last census. The following diagram compares the density with that of some other provinces and countries;—

	Area.	Population.	Density.
ASSAM	61,471	7,990,246	130
Surma Valley and Hills Division,	25,317	3,571,198	141
Assam Valley Division	26,787	3,991,682	149
Frontier Tracts ...	911	43,350	...
Manipur State ...	8,456	384,016	45

DIAGRAM NO. 1 NUMBER OF PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE



It is of interest to note that Assam, the North-East frontier province of the Indian Empire, has exactly the same density as has the North-West Frontier Province. It is still more than double that of Burma, on the east, but less than a quarter that of our western neighbour, Bengal.



There are no industrial centres or towns of any size, but the distribution of the people varies enormously within the province, ranging from 7 per square mile in the Balipara Frontier Tract to over 900 in part of the Surma Valley. These variations are discussed in detail below. Although they are being levelled up slowly, their persistence is not to be wondered at. The static conditions of fertile river valleys and vast areas of forest-covered hills have combined with the dynamic effects of past invasions and wars, destructive earthquakes, and epidemic disease to this end.

The population and density of the Assam Valley Commissionership now for the first time exceed those of the Surma Valley and Hills Division; but the room for expansion in the former is still immense.

Certain statistics of density and crops are given in subsidiary Table I. The total area under crops is estimated at 7·08 million acres; this gives a density a little greater than 1 person per cultivated acre—or rather more than 2½ bighas of cultivated land per head of the population.

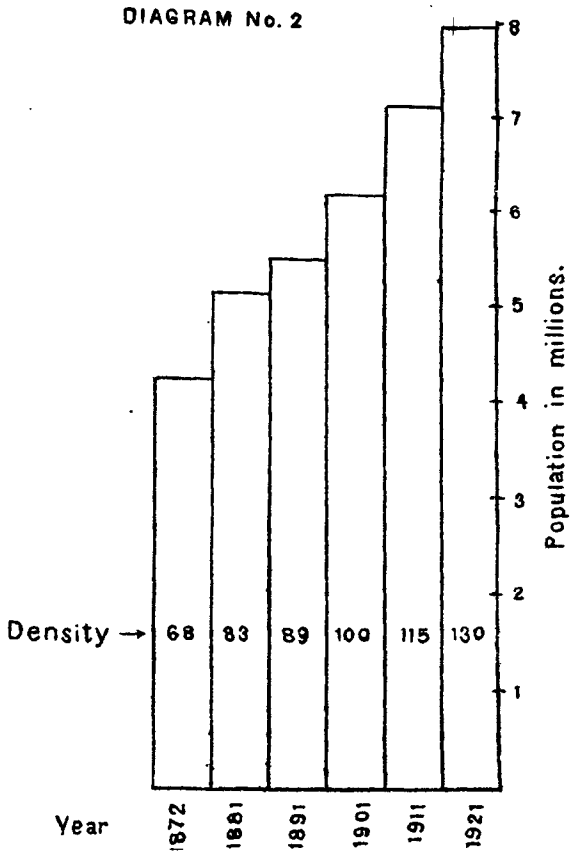
(*iv*) VARIATIONS AT PREVIOUS CENSUSES.

Statistics of variation.

8. Since 1872 there has been a continuous growth. The figures for the six censuses given in Imperial Table II show that the population has almost doubled in fifty years. A reference to subsidiary Table III at the end of this chapter will show this in terms of percentage increases and changes of density decade by decade. The increase is set out in the statement below. In the diagram the height of each rectangle represents the population in millions and the figures within each, density per square mile.

Year.	Population of Assam.	Persons per square mile.
1872	4,151,231	68
1881	5,129,391	83
1891	5,477,880	89
1901	6,126,945	100
1911	7,060,521	115
1921	7,990,246	130

DIAGRAM No. 2



Errors at previous Censuses.

9. Some part of this increase is due to errors of omission at the earlier censuses. In 1872 the census was certainly very inaccurate: for instance Mr. Luttman-Johnson, Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet in 1881, wrote "I never met a man other than an official, I never met a man who knew a man other than officials, who remembered the 1872 census..... I am inclined to think that the schedules were filled up by examination of the rural policemen." In 1881 also there were many defects, though not of the order of magnitude of the 1872 ones. Again, Manipur was omitted in the first and third, and the Lushai Hills in the first and second of the censuses; the Mokokchung Subdivision of the Naga Hills was added in 1891; while another tract of the Naga Hills with a population of about 40,000 was newly included in 1911.

If we consider the effect of these area additions up to 1911, and make allowance for inaccuracy in 1872 and 1881 on the lines suggested in the report of 1911, we arrive at the marginally noted figures as the probable real percentages for growth of the actual population.

Period.	Real growth.	Increase shown by the Census.
1872-1881 ...	9·1 per cent.	23·6 per cent.
1881-1891 ...	9·2 " "	6·8 " "
1891-1901 ...	5·9 " "	11·8 " "
1901-1911 ...	14·6 " "	15·2 " "

Causes of previous Increases.

10. During these forty years river steamers, railways and the tea industry were contributing to the development of the province and bringing numerous immigrants, many of whom settled on the land after the expiry of their agreements. Up to 1901 the increases of the natural population, *i.e.*, the Assam-born, were considerably less than those of the actual population; in 1881-1891 the percentage growth of natural population was only 5·9, and from 1891 to 1901 it was as low as 1·36. The chief causes of the low rate in the latter decade were the great earthquake of 1897 and the epidemic of *kala-azar*. From 1901 to 1911 there was a great recovery in the growth of the natural population to 15·2 per cent., even after allowing for the newly included Naga Hills tract; with the same allowance, the actual population only increased by 14·6 per cent. The reasons for the difference, which indicates slower growth of the number of foreign-born persons, were depression in the tea industry in the years 1901-1904 and exodus of the large railway labour force on completion of the Assam-Bengal Railway.

The causes of the great increase between 1901 and 1911 have been analysed in the last census report. Briefly, they were the improved condition of the tea industry after 1905, absence of unusual calamities and recovery of the people after the previous bad decade, which had left a preponderance of people in the prime of life, tending to a rapid rate of reproduction.

I have noted above how much of the whole increase shown by the census up to 1911 should be taken as real growth and how much excluded on account of area changes and errors in counting. Consideration of the figures for actual and natural increase shows that a large part of the increase is due to movement from outside into the province: I estimate that at least a quarter of the whole increase before 1911 is due to this cause. If the Assam-born children of immigrants be considered also, the number will be greater, but the census gives no data for differentiating between these and true natives of the province.

(*v*) CONDITIONS OF THE DECADE 1911-1921.

General.

11. The period 1901-1911 was described in the last census report as distinctly progressive. In the past decade, progress in growth has continued, but the speed has been retarded by various events of local importance, and by the universal influenza epidemic of 1918-19. It cannot be said that the standard of life has improved; the economic condition of the people appears to be no better in 1921 than it was in 1911.

The war and military operations.

12. There were minor frontier military operations in 1911-12-13, and the Kuki rebellion of 1917-1919 caused some devastation in the Manipur hills. The effect of the European war began to be felt in 1916. The high food prices were felt severely by those with fixed incomes; the rise in prices of imported articles such as cloth, salt and kerosene oil was felt by all classes, though it was counteracted generally for the cultivators by the increased prices obtained for their surplus crops. Direct benefit to the province accrued from increased employment, mainly for the clerical and labouring classes.

Contingents of fighting men were supplied to Gurkha regiments; artillery drivers and mechanical transport drivers were enlisted from classes with no previous military tradition; some young men of education went as clerks to military units and others enlisted in the Bengali regiment; and several labour corps were raised for service overseas and in India or on the frontier. All these brought back sums of money to their home districts on demobilization.

Climate and crops.

13. Rainfall was generally heavy, as usual in Assam, where real famine is unknown. Excessive rain produced several high floods, causing local scarcity at times. Crops were on the whole fair in the decade and the price of rice generally ruled high, with consequent benefit to the cultivators. In 1917-18, however, the price fell with the high yield and prohibition of export, causing difficulty to those with surplus stocks for sale.

The average retail price of common rice rose from 13 seers to 7 seers per rupee in the first five years of the decade, fell to 10 by 1917 and rose again to 5½ by 1920. Serious damage was done by floods in the Surma Valley between 1913 and 1916; Goalpara, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills also suffered from floods at different times. In 1911-12 great damage was done to crops in the Lushai Hills and Manipur by a plague of rats which appeared with the seeding of the bamboos in that year. In 1913-14, Sylhet and Cachar crops suffered also from insect pests. The consequent shortage of food-grains and depletion of stocks were countered by measures of relief and agricultural loans from Government. In 1914-15, the fall in the cotton and jute markets affected growers adversely. Water hyacinth has spread greatly in many parts and threatens to be a perennial source of loss to the wet rice crop, as well as an obstruction to boat traffic and a nuisance to the tank water supply.

The Agricultural Department succeeded in introducing potatoes, and several new varieties of rice with higher yields in localities where they were not grown before; but the spread of improved methods and intensive cultivation has been slow and is still very local. Cultivation of indigo has been introduced in parts of the Assam Valley, but little progress has been made as yet in its manufacture.

In 1918 there was a severe earthquake, with its centre near Srimangal in the Sylhet district. Much property was destroyed, but loss of life was small and no permanent change in land level was produced.

Tea.

14. The tea industry continued to flourish up to 1919, but in 1920 dislocation of trade and especially closure of the Russian market caused a serious depression and accumulation of stocks: many companies which had paid away high profits of previous years in large dividends and had kept no reserves came near to financial crisis, the number of labourers was reduced, considerable areas were allowed to go out of cultivation, and riots and other disturbances occurred among the coolies in several districts. In 1921, however, with an agreement by the Tea Association to restrict output, a rise in the tea market and improvement in general health, the industry began to recover. Even after this temporary depression, we find that the area under tea is nearly 6 per cent. of the cultivated area of the province, having increased in the 10 years by some 60,000 acres. The population censused on tea gardens rose from 702,000 to 922,000. The number of labourers was well over a million in 1919 but fell in 1920-21.

Immigration and new cultivation.

15. According to statistics of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, the whole cultivable area in the province has decreased by about 5 per cent. or over 2,000 square miles, owing to reservation of areas as forest; but the absolute figures are not wholly reliable, as those for the permanently settled districts of Sylhet and Goalpara are based only on estimates. The net area sown, which is still only 25 per cent. of the total cultivable area, shows an increase according to the annual returns of about 50,000 acres. Immigration of cultivators from Eastern Bengal and colonization by Nepalis and *ex*-garden coolies increased largely and did much to open up waste land in the Assam Valley, but as subsidiary Table I shows, large areas remain uncultivated. Attempts are being made to extend fruit cultivation in the hills and certain parts of the plains; the Garos are beginning to grow oranges, and in Sylhet proposals for pine apple tinning factories have been made.

Industry.

16. In development of large industries, apart from tea, there is little of achievement, but considerable promise, to be noted. The Assam Oil Company extended their workings in Lakhimpur and increased their output from 3·3 to 5·2 million gallons in the decade. The petroleum previously discovered near Badarpur in the Surma Valley is now being exported

as crude oil for fuel by the Burma Oil Company. Oil has been found in several other places in the hills of the Sylhet-Cachar area, but it is not yet being worked commercially; prospectors are at work in several parts still. Experiments in the use of bamboo and certain reeds and grasses for paper pulp have been made with some success, and a company has been started in the Kamrup district for the manufacture of paper: its operations are suspended at present for want of machinery. A corundum factory is now working in the Khasi Hills.

The lime quarries of the Khasi Hills continued to export lime stone which is burnt in Sylhet for local consumption and export to Calcutta. A small factory for crushing lime-stone to be used as a fertilizer on tea gardens was started at Sylhet. Generally, however, the tendency of educated Indian capitalists in Assam has been to follow the tea lead, opening new tea gardens, with sometimes a little fruit-growing or some fishing tanks as a supplement. Some of these ventures have proved successful; but some, together with others of a more questionable nature, such as unstable life assurance companies in the Surma Valley, have ended in failure by the swallowing of shareholders' subscriptions in expenses of management before the enterprises began to pay. The Government experimental sugarcane farm in Kamrup has been made over to a Calcutta firm for the commercial manufacture of sugar.

For cottage industries, it is scarcely possible to estimate progress in the decade, but it is probable that there has been no diminution except in the case of brass work. For the first time a census of hand looms and certain other cottage industries was taken in the province, and the results are shown in Provincial Table V. The Department of Industries is fostering home industries, and has arranged for exhibitions of the principal local products. Weaving, especially of silk, continues to prosper in the Assam Valley. The co-operative movement was weak up to 1918, since when it has begun to advance. A Provincial Co-operative Bank was established at Shillong in 1921.

Wages.

17. The wages of agricultural and ordinary labourers and of domestic servants have risen from 50 to 100 per cent. according to locality and circumstances, thus keeping pace more or less with the rise in prices. The recorded wages of tea garden coolies show less rise, but these are complicated by other considerations, and a Committee was appointed in 1921 to enquire and report on the matter.* Prices and wages are discussed in more detail in Chapter XII.

Public Health.

18. The public health, apart from the influenza epidemic, has been only fair on the whole. There has been a recrudescence of *kala-azar*, which has been located in several districts previously believed free. A new treatment and legislative provision for enforcing segregation, however, render it improbable that we shall ever have again so heavy a mortality as that of the nineties.

Outbreaks of cholera, small-pox and dysentery have occurred in various districts at different times during the decade. There has been practically no plague. Vital statistics show a crude birth rate of 34·6 and death rate of 25·9 in 1911. The rate of survivals, or excess of births over deaths, remained fairly high for the first four years of the decade; then followed a heavy fall for two years, with a slight recovery in 1917. In 1918 the birth rate rose to 35·0 but the death rate was driven up to 46·1 by the influenza epidemic. Owing to incorrect diagnosis (influenza being recorded as fever, for instance, in many cases) it is difficult to calculate the death rate for influenza. The Director of Public Health estimated it at 17·04 per thousand for the whole year 1918 and 7·03 for the first quarter of 1919. In 1919 influenza continued for some months and its effect, combined with bad climatic conditions, lowered the provincial birth rate to 30·5 and raised the death-rate to 50·1. There was also in this year a very large importation of famine-stricken coolies, especially susceptible to disease.

The year 1920 saw a recovery, when the birth rate again exceeded the death rate by 2·5 per mille, and this improvement was continued into 1921.

Communications.

19. There has been some progress in communications, but many schemes were postponed or abandoned for reasons of financial stringency during and after the war. Branches of the Assam-Bengal Railway have been opened up to Sylhet town, and through Nowgong from

* The report of the Committee has since been published. The majority found, and the Government have agreed with the finding, that the rise in prices has exceeded generally the rise in wages in tea gardens, and that the coolie's standard of living must in consequence have been lowered of recent years.

Chaparmukh to Silghat steamer station; one is also under construction to Hailakandi in Cachar. A survey was made in 1920-21 for a connecting line between Assam and Burma in the north-eastern corner through the Hukong Valley; the survey parties were actually censused in the transfrontier country.

With the help of large Government grants in the first half of the decade considerable improvements in rural water supply and in roads and bridges were made by local bodies: in the second half many projects suffered for want of funds.

(*vi*) THE MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION.

Variation—general.

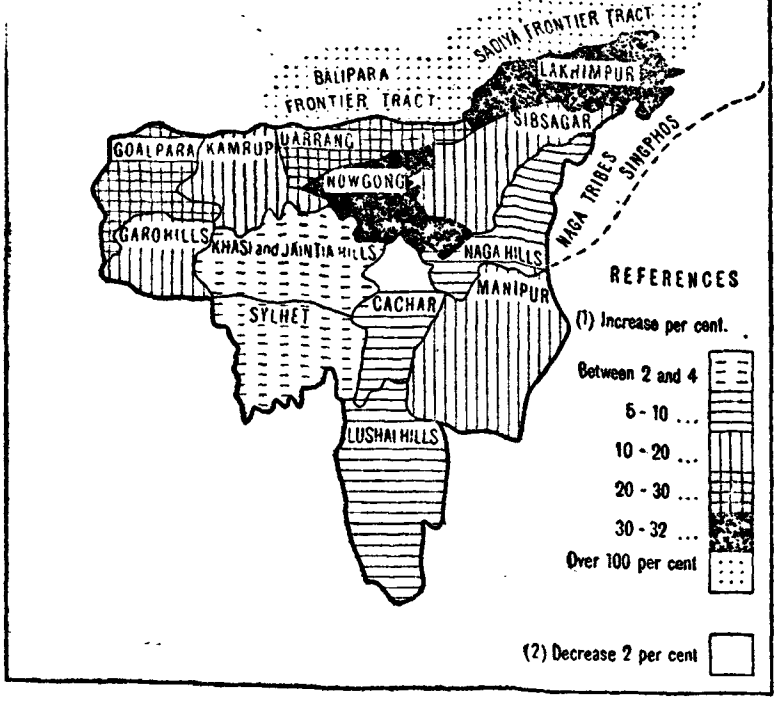
20. The result of the conditions described above has been a growth in the total population large but less marked than that of the previous decade when there was no influenza epidemic. The actual amounts and percentage increases for the province and natural divisions are given in the marginal statement. The details of variation for districts by sex are shown in Imperial Table II, and as explained in the title page of that table, only about 24,000 of the total increase is due to inclusion of new areas. There is little difference in accuracy at the present census; we have therefore to look to natural growth and immigration as the two main causes of the provincial increase.

—	Increase 1911-1921.	Percentage of 1911 population.
Assam	929,725	+13·2
Brahmaputra Valley ...	748,650	+24·1
Surma Valley (with North Cachar).	98,323	+3·3
Hills	82,752	+8·2

The density is much higher in the Surma Valley, and especially in Sylhet, which accounts for five-sixths of the population of the valley; and local calamities, with consequent lowered vitality of the people, have fallen more heavily and frequently on Sylhet than elsewhere. We should therefore expect less natural growth in the Surma Valley than in the Brahmaputra Valley.

Again, the latter division has about double the Surma Valley number of tea gardens, suffered less severely from the tea slump of 1920 and has far more waste land awaiting colonists. The tendency of both causes is thus largely in favour of the Brahmaputra Valley. The Hills are little affected by migration. They are sparsely populated, but in parts suffered very severely from the influenza epidemic, both in direct mortality and in the after-effect on the birth rate. Their intermediate position between the two valleys in the rate of increase was to be expected.

ASSAM — VARIATIONS IN POPULATION, 1911-1921. MAP No. 2



Migration and natural growth.

21. Details of immigrants, emigrants and natural population are given in subsidiary Table IV, which shows a very large increase of immigrants in the Brahmaputra Valley, a small increase in the hills and some excess of emigrants over immigrants in the Surma Valley. The natural population is obtained by adding the number of emigrants to the total population enumerated and then deducting the number of immigrants.

It thus takes no account of those who enter an area during the decade and die before the census date; it also excludes those who emigrate to an area where they escaped census,—for instance those in frontier districts who have gone across into unadministered territory.

The following statement shows the relative importance of migration and natural growth in the province and its natural divisions:—

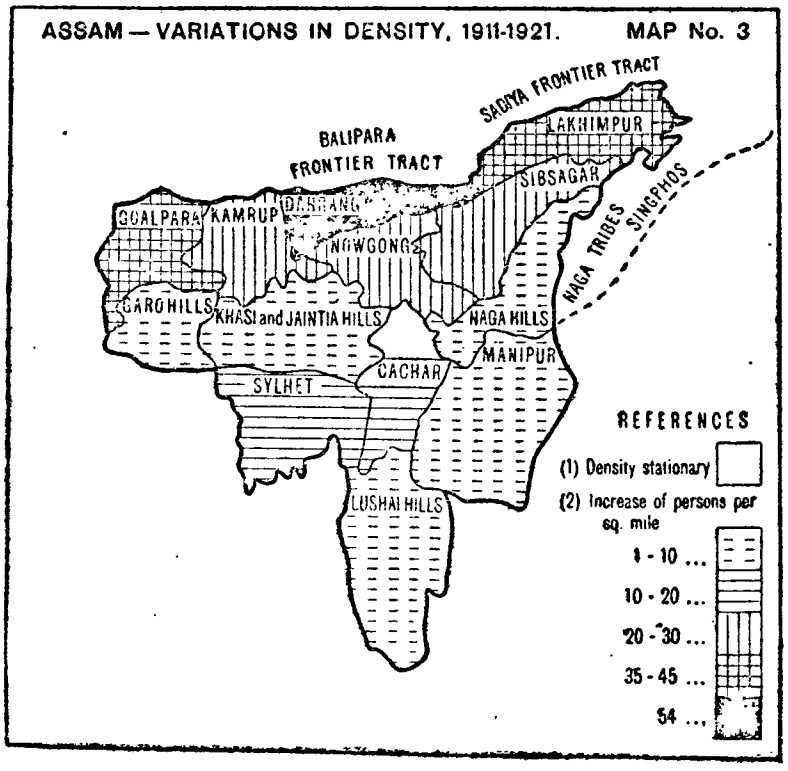
	Gain (+) or loss (—) by migration in 1911-21.	Variation of natural population.	Total increase in 1911-21.	Percentages of total increase due to	
				Migration.	Natural growth.
1	2	3	4	5	6
ASSAM	+ 411,941	+ 517,784	+ 929,725	+ 44·3	+ 55·7
Brahmaputra Valley ...	+ 416,350	+ 332,300	+ 748,650	+ 55·6	+ 44·4
Surma Valley	— 14,216	+ 111,987	+ 97,771	— 14·5	+ 114·5
Hills	+ 13,613	+ 69,691	+ 83,304	+ 16·3	+ 83·7

It will be noticed that immigration has accounted for somewhat less than half the provincial increase, and for more than half the total increase in the Brahmaputra Valley, while natural growth has had to make up for a loss of 14,000 in the Surma Valley. This excess of emigrants is due chiefly to the bad condition of the tea industry towards the end of the decade, and in a less degree to people leaving the crowded parts of Sylhet for new lands in the Assam Valley.

The Hills have gained a little by new arrivals, but much more by natural increase. The new immigrants to the Hills are chiefly Nepalese graziers and settlers everywhere, and some thousands of Chins from the Chin hills of Burma to the Lushai Hills and Manipur; these are said to have come over to escape oppression from their chiefs.

Density changes.

22. Turning to subsidiary Table III, it will be seen that the density per square mile for the province has risen by 15 to 130 per square mile. The Brahmaputra Valley density is shown as 136, as I have taken the Sadiya Frontier Tract area at its approximate amount estimated by the Political Officer. If the surveyed area only be taken, as in 1911, the density of the Valley would be 157; thus the real increase in density in the Assam Valley is about 31, against an increase of 14, from 406 to 420, in the Surma Valley and only 3 in the Hills, where it is still only 37 per square mile. These density figures show that expansion has taken place in the part of the province best able to absorb new population. In the previous decade the increase in density was 39 in the Surma Valley, against only 20 in the Brahmaputra Valley.



Vital statistics.

23. In subsidiary Table V registered vital statistics have been set out side by side with the population increases disclosed by the census. But for the disturbing effect of migration, the excess of births over deaths in the decade should be equal to the actual census increase; hence we might suppose that the figures for natural population, which are deduced by excluding immigrants and including emigrants, would correspond, up to limits of error of the recording agencies, with the vital statistics.

It is not so. Columns 6 and 7 of subsidiary Table V show a discrepancy which appears grotesque. The difference for the area of the province under registration amounts to over 350,000. In Darrang and Lakhimpur, the recorded death rates considerably exceed the birth rates; yet the census discloses substantial additions in both districts to the natural as well as to the actual population! It is obvious that the figures are useless for purposes of comparison or checking with the census figures. The registration of vital statistics, though still greatly defective, must be presumed to have improved somewhat in ten years and reasons for the great difference must be sought elsewhere. These reasons lie in the fact that census immigrants and emigrants are only counted every ten years. There are many immigrants who come during the decade and die before the date of the census; these swell the death returns, but do not appear in the census. Again, those who emigrate during the decade and who die outside the province before the census date will cause a deficit in the census natural population but have no corresponding entry in the death registers of the province. The number of these is, however, very much less than that of the former class. I have analysed these factors with the help of the annual Tea Garden Immigrant Labour Reports in Appendix A at the end of this volume. When they are allowed for, the discrepancy becomes less absurd, though still large enough to discount any serious deductions, except the one that the registration of vital statistics is still very imperfect.

The system of registration and its accuracy also vary in different parts of the province, and it is therefore of doubtful utility to quote the figures except for comparison of the same areas at different times. In areas tested by the Public Health Department, omissions vary generally from 2 to 10 per cent. Births are probably more often omitted than deaths.

The Director of Public Health is of opinion that the influenza epidemic had a very disturbing effect on registration, owing to the general insecurity caused by the ravages of the disease, and also in many cases to illness and death of the reporting and recording agents.

(*vii*) DENSITY AND VARIATION IN NATURAL DIVISIONS.

Province—General distribution.

24. I come now to the consideration of variation and density of the population in the districts and their subdivisions.

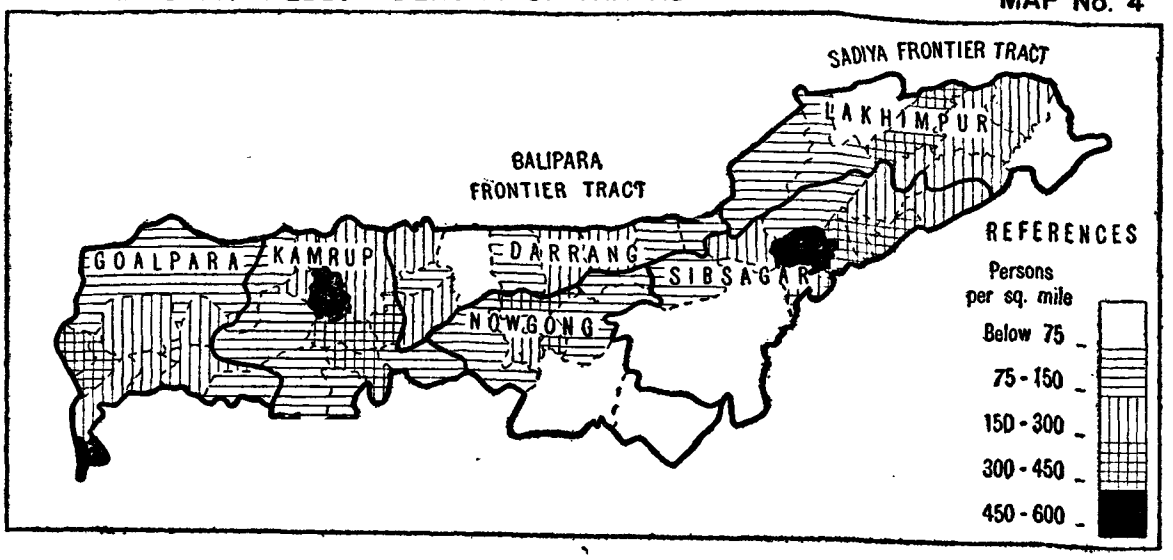
In the report of 1911, Mr. McSwiney commented on some remarkable contrasts, in that one-third of the total population was spread over an area of three-fourths of the province with a density less than 150 per square mile, and only 1·3 per cent. of the total area supported some 7·4 per cent. of the people at a density of over 600 to the square mile. Subsidiary Table II shows the population by thanas and areas in the same density groups as were shown in 1911. From the table it appears that the proportion of the population in the areas of lowest density has decreased from 33·4 to 30 per cent., some 4 per cent. of the 1911 lowest-density areas having moved now into the next higher class, owing to colonization.

In areas of over 600 per square mile we have now 16·6 per cent of all the people. This last result, however, is due more to minute calculation of densities, owing to partition of thickly populated thanas in the Surma Valley, than to actual growth. Another contrast shown by the table is that a little over half the people are still spread over about eight-ninths of the area of the province, while the other half is crowded into one-ninth of the area.

Brahmaputra Valley—General.

25. In the Brahmaputra Valley, density is still greatest in the west, as will be seen from the map below. Kamrup still shows the highest density, 197, but it has been nearly overtaken both in actual population and in density, by Goalpara, where both natural growth and immigration have been greater.

BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY—DENSITY OF THANAS. MAP No. 4

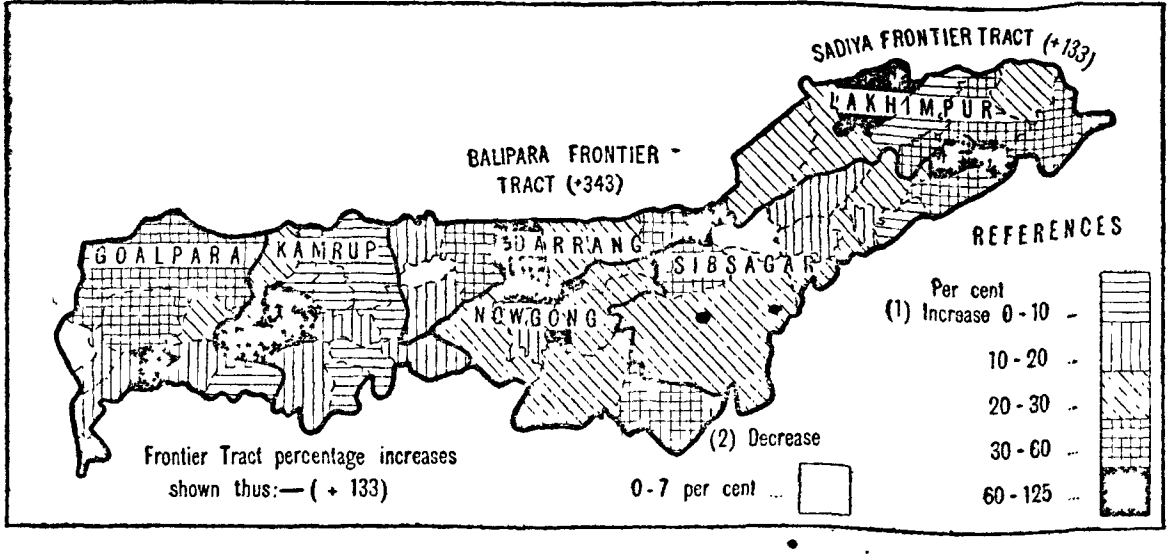


Darrang comes next with 164, thus exceeding the density of Sibsagar (162) for the first time since 1881. Lakhimpur has increased to 143 and Nowgong to 108. The two frontier tracts, though placed in the Brahmaputra Valley for geographical reasons, have immense areas of jungle and are even more sparsely inhabited than the hill districts. The greater concentration of population in the west of the valley was explained in the last census report as the result of historical causes. Natural growth and the opening of the upper or eastern districts by the tea industry would have gone far to obliterate these effects, but that immigration from Bengal has now increased so largely in the eastern districts as to maintain the distribution much as it was before. The greatest numerical increases are shown by Goalpara on the west and Sibsagar and Lakhimpur on the east. Dividing districts into thanas, subsidiary Table VI shows at once, what must be cause for satisfaction in an agricultural country, that the greatest increases in the valley have gone into the most thinly populated areas.

Goalpara.

26. In Goalpara district, there has been an actual increase of 161,838—the largest for any district in the province—and the mean density has gone up from 152 to 193. Of this increase, two-fifths is due to natural growth and three-fifths to immigration.

BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY—VARIATIONS IN POPULATION 1911-21 MAP No. 5



This immigration is an expansion of the influx noted at the last census and will be discussed further in Chapter III. The newcomers are chiefly Muhammadan cultivators from Mymensingh and other neighbouring districts, and Meches and Santals from Jalpaiguri. The former class come by the river and have taken up much of the *char* and waste land along the banks. The latter are opening up generally the Eastern Duars, where the density has risen from 58 to 97; the extension of

the Eastern Bengal Railway through the north of the district a dozen years ago is a contributory cause in this. The Chirang mauza of the Eastern Duars has thus increased its population twelvefold in the decade. The Santal Colony of the Lutheran Mission and the Ripu mauza have increases of 75 and 82 per cent. respectively. Except for the influenza epidemic, the district has not suffered greatly from disease or calamity. The Deputy Commissioner states that the decade has been fairly prosperous. The increase in the natural population is 13 per cent.

As shown by map No. 4 above the density is highest (Mankachar thana, 567) in the south-west, and in the Dhubri and Golakganj thanas (390 and 392) adjoining Bengal. The Golakganj thana has lost 2·9 per cent. of its people and other thanas have gained heavily. The thickly populated Mankachar outpost is shown as a separate police station for the first time. Goalpara subdivision has gained more in proportion than the Dhubri (sadr) subdivision, and the two are now almost equal in density. The greatest increase in the former is shown by Lakhipur thana, 87·7 per cent. There is still much waste land to be reclaimed and the next census should show a further large increase in the district, chiefly in the tracts away from the Brahmaputra.

Kamrup.

27. Although Kamrup district had generally favourable climatic conditions, it had more than its fair share of disease: small-pox virulent in the early years of the decade, cholera in 1917, *kala-azar* stimulated by influenza, as well as a comparatively high death rate from the influenza epidemic itself in 1918-19. It is not surprising, therefore, that the natural growth has been less than that in Goalpara; the percentage increase of natural population is only 5·7. The total increase was 94,885 or 14·2 per cent. This is somewhat greater than the increase shown in the last census; it is in accordance with Mr. McSwiney's prophesy in the 1911 report. Of the total increase, just as in Goalpara, two-fifths is due to natural growth and three-fifths to immigration. The density is still greatest in the centre and towards the south-east of the district: Nalbari thana has 551 persons to the square mile, Hajo 359 and Palasbari 357. Some of the mauzas of Nalbari are very thickly populated, Upar Barbhag having 962, and Bansjani and Pakowa 842 and 818 respectively.

If we reckon 5 acres as supporting not more than seven persons on the average under present conditions of cultivation, it is evident that there is considerable pressure on the soil in parts. There is still much room for expansion in the district, however, and further increase of population may be expected. Of the two subdivisions, Barpeta, with its large areas of waste and swamp, has only 146 persons to the square mile against the 223 of Gauhati subdivision. Cultivators from Bengal are, however, flowing more rapidly into Barpeta than into Gauhati subdivision; the density increase in the former is 32 and in the latter 18. Large increases are shown by Chenga, Bagribari and Bhowanipur mauzas in Barpeta.

The extension of the Eastern Bengal Railway in the north and west of the district has doubtless helped in the increase of both subdivisions. Tea gardens are not important and the immigrants are chiefly Muhammadans from Mymensingh and other Bengal districts. These settled at first on the banks of the Brahmaputra but have now spread inland and opened up land which had been out of cultivation since the subsidence due to the earthquake of 1897.

Darrang.

28. In Darrang there was some cholera in 1912, 1916 and 1919, and influenza took its toll in 1918 and 1919 but generally the climate was cool and humid and conducive to health. The recorded birth rates in the influenza years 1918-19 were higher than the provincial averages but the district death rates were the highest in the province for both years. These high death rates are most probably attributable to extra heavy mortality among new immigrants. *Kala-azar* is said to have decreased, and the material condition of the people is described as satisfactory on the whole. The natural increase was 10·1 per cent., an improvement on the figures of last census. The density is no longer highest in the west, except for the single thana of Mangaldai at the south-west corner of the district. Mangaldai subdivision, which had shown a decrease at the last two censuses, has now increased in density from 124 to 140, but Tezpur subdivision has a much larger increase from 101 to 157. Part of these increases is due, however, to the transfer of 500 square miles, almost uninhabited, to Balipara Frontier Tract. The possibility of this large increase in the eastern part of the district was foreseen in the last census report when it was remarked that a stream of settlers might be directed there by the gradual filling up of large areas of waste land. Calculated on the surveyed area, the mean density of the district is now 164, slightly exceeding that of Sibsagar.

Of the huge increase of 101,484 in the total population, more than five-sevenths is due to immigration. We have here a great influx of Eastern Bengal cultivators, who have kept rather to the banks of the Brahmaputra; a still larger increase of tea garden immigration, especially in Tezpur subdivision; much colonization by *ex*-coolies of the tea gardens, and a number of Nepalis who come as buffalo-graziers and often stay to settle as cultivators. These last, unlike the Bengali settlers, have penetrated to the northern parts of the district.

The densest thanas are Tezpur in the centre (213), and Mangaldai in the south-west, 240 to the square mile.

The mauzas showing the greatest increases are Orang, Dalgaon, Barchola, Sakomatha, Baghmara, Halem. All these seem to be absorbing very large numbers of settlers. Bishnath mauza shows a large decrease, but the Sakomatha and Baghmara mauzas have been cut off from it, and the figures supplied from the district for calculating the previous population of the parts seem to have been far from correct. There is as yet no pressure of population on the land. The present cultivated area can support more, and about a thousand square miles remain still available for settlement, eight-ninths of this being in Mangaldai subdivision. A further large increase in population seems probable in future, both by immigration and by natural growth, as the district appears to have recovered from the effects of past bad times. The Rangia-Tungla branch of the Eastern Bengal Railway now connects the western part of Mangaldai with the outer world, and should be a factor in development.

Nowgong.

29. In 1911 the Census Superintendent remarked that there was no reason why Nowgong, having shaken off the effect of the 1891-1901 *kala-azar* epidemic and the 1897 earthquake, should not now resume its position as a prosperous and progressive tract. This hope has been partly realised. The natural population has increased by 26,670, or 9·6 per cent., against the 14·3 of the previous decade. The reasons for the slower increase are epidemics of cholera and influenza, a recrudescence of *kala-azar*, and disastrous floods in the Kopili Valley in 1917-18.

Cholera is said to be more or less endemic in the district now, but *kala-azar* appears to be yielding to the new treatment. The decade has not been a happy one, but the statistics show that the vitality of the people and enterprise and industry of the new immigrants have surmounted the effects of disease and flood. The settled *khiraj* area increased from 257 to 321 thousand acres, and the land revenue, from 5·3 to 6·4 lakhs of rupees. The density is still easily the lowest in the valley, except for the frontier tracts, but it has risen from 79 to 108, and the population at last exceeds that of 1891, the previous highest. Immigration has been on a large scale and has caused the proportionate increase on actual population, 31·9 per cent., to be the highest in the province. As in Darrang, five-sevenths of the total increase of 96,266 is due to immigration. The flow of Eastern Bengal settlers has been much greater than in any other district except Goalpara; there has been a less important increase in tea garden immigration, and a few thousand new settlers have come over from the crowded and flooded parts of the Surma Valley. The density continues greatest in the valley of the Kallang river, Nowgong thana showing 316 and Raha thana 248 to the square mile.

Mauzas Dhing, Juria and Khatwal have attracted the greatest numbers of Bengali immigrants. Dhing and Khatwal have increases of over 100 per cent. while the Juri population has increased eightfold, from 3,600 to 28,000. Namati, Gerua Bokoni, Kachamari and Jamunapar also show heavy proportionate increases. Lumding thana, containing the hill mauzas, still has a density of only 23 per square mile. The Kopili and Jamuna valleys and the western *chaparis* are very sparsely populated. There is much room for expansion, and if *kala-azar* and cholera are kept in check, there should be another large increase both in natural population and in colonists by the next census.

Sibsagar.

30. In 1911 it was found that the increase of natural population of Sibsagar had exceeded that of the actual, that is that the district had lost by emigration; this was ascribed by Mr. McSwiney to the trekking westwards of time-expired tea garden coolies and the high death rate among new immigrants. The position is now different. The natural population has grown by 17·3 per cent. and the whole population shows an increase of 19·1 per cent. on the 1911 total. The district is one of the most important in the province for the tea industry, and the boom in tea in the middle years of the decade brought in many new coolies.

There was an outbreak of cholera in 1914, and some floods occurred in 1912 and 1916. Otherwise, except for influenza, the decade has been one of some prosperity. The high prices prevailing after the war, however, gave rise to extensive shop-looting and to rioting on tea gardens, with demands by the coolies for higher wages. Cultivators were not affected, as they gained by the high price of rice.

The total increase of population in the ten years is 131,795. Somewhat less than one-third of this is due to immigration. The stream of Eastern Bengal settlers stops short before Sibsagar and the immigrants here are almost all tea garden coolies. The district has the largest population in the valley; but it also covers the largest area, and the mean density is only 162. Of the three subdivisions, Jorhat has the greatest density, 285, followed by Sibsagar with 281. Golaghat, with a large area of the Mikir Hills and the Nambar forest, supports only 75 persons to the square mile.

A belt running in the centre and north-east is the most thickly populated part of the district. Sibsagar subdivision has the largest increase, but the other two subdivisions have also increased heavily. Jorhat thana is easily the densest thana, having risen in density from 349 to 461. Amguri, Titabor, and Nazira thanas all have over 350 persons to the square mile. The Majuli and the hill portions of Golaghat thana are still sparsely peopled. Mauzas Khangia, Kotohagar Charigaon Nazira and Godhuli Bazar support the densest population, all having 750 persons or more to the square mile. The mauzas having the largest increases in population are Nakachari, Thaura, Khalaighogora, Kardaiguri and Duar Dikharu.

In Jorhat subdivision there is little room left for expansion, but there is still ample land in the north and east of Sibsagar, and round the hills of Golaghat. There has been a good deal of clearance of waste land, owing to pressure in the crowded parts and to settlement of *ex*-coolies. If tea continues to flourish and if, as seems probable, the stream of cultivating immigrants from Eastern Bengal continues its eastward trend, the population of Sibsagar may appoach a million by the next census.

Lakhimpur,

31. The population of Lakhimpur is now more than five times what it was in 1872. In the last ten years the actual population has grown by 30·5 per cent. and the natural by 20·3 per cent. This, like Sibsagar, shows a contrast with last census. Immigrants have now been absorbed, in place of the excess of emigrants shown in 1911.

The natural growth does not represent all Assamese people; in highly developed and old tea districts such as Lakhimpur and Sibsagar it includes the descendants of many settled *ex*-coolies, as well as children born in gardens. These, if born in the district, the census does not distinguish from the indigenous population. Language might be used as a test, but even so, a good many of the children of Behar, Central Provinces, or Madras settlers may be returned as speaking Assamese. This matter will be discussed in Chapter IX.

The density of Dibrugarh subdivision is 180, and that of North Lakhimpur only 105. The former contains the great majority of the tea gardens of the district, and most of the coal mines and oil wells working in the province. North Lakhimpur is more low-lying and less suitable for tea.

Dibrugarh thana has a density of 331. A few mauzas rise to over 400, and Jamira has 617 persons per square mile, but generally the population is not crowded. On the east lies the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract, under direct control of the Deputy Commissioner. This was extended in 1914 by 83 square miles, containing 13 Naga villages. There has been another extension of 206 square miles, with some Abor villages, in the north. These changes have added about 1,700 to the population. On the other hand, the district has lost territory and populatoin by the separation of Sadiya Frontier Tract in 1914; previous figures have been adjusted for this in the principal tables, but the migration figures for 1911 could not be adjusted in subsidiary Table IV as immigrants and emigrants are not tabulated for units smaller than districts. The Sadiya migrations, however, are not large enough to interfere with general conclusions about Lakhimpur.

The actual increase in the district has been 136,891, of which 1,700 is due to new areas, and a little less than half to natural growth. The rest is accounted for by increased immigration, chiefly to the tea gardens. Mauzas Jaipur Phakial, Tipling Phakial, Sissi and Naobaicha have very large increases. Dibrugarh mauza has decreased by 6,500, or 32·6 per cent. of its 1911 population; a few other mauzas also show small decreases.

There were frequent outbreaks of cholera between 1914 and 1919. The district death rates were much higher, and the birth rates lower, than the provincial averages recorded in the influenza years, 1918-1919. It is thus surprising that the rate of natural increase of population is the highest in the province; the paradox is probably due to the vital statistics being vitiated by serious inaccuracy and a very large number of deaths among the new immigrants. The most commonly reported cause of death is malarial fever, the next respiratory disease.

The land settled for ordinary cultivation has increased from 247,000 to 347,000 acres, but rice has still to be imported to feed the tea-garden population. In the sadr subdivision there are roughly two persons to the cultivated acre.

The district was described in 1911 as the most progressive in the province. In 1921, in the opinion of the Deputy Commissioner, the material condition of the people cannot be said to be very good. In 1918, following high prices, there was extensive looting of markets and shops by Miris and Assamese; in 1920, some serious riots occurred on tea gardens, after which the pay of coolies was raised.

While considerable profits have been made in the tea and other industries, it does not appear that the indigenous population has shared much in these. Most of the tea gardens, the coal mines, the local railway, the petroleum wells, and the saw-mills are owned by European companies, and worked by people from other provinces, such as Behar, the Central Provinces, etc.,—in some cases even by Pathans, Makranis, and Chinese. The rice mills and oil mills of Dibrugarh are owned by Marwaris. A good many of the professional positions are held by Bengalis; wholesale and important retail trade is in the hands of men of Rajputana and of Eastern Bengal; the smaller shops in villages are mostly kept by upcountrymen. Even the jungle clearing on tea gardens in the cold weather is done by parties of Nagas, Abors and others from the hills. This leaves little for the purely local man except home industries and cultivation. In Lakhimpur, home industries are less developed than in any other district of the Valley, as can be seen from a glance at Provincial Table V; for instance, the number of handlooms is less than half that in Sibsagar, and less than a quarter of the number in Kamrup.

As to cultivation, the Deputy Commissioner states that the *ex*-coolie settlers have maintained their superiority over the local population; the former are industrious and hardworking, the latter lethargic and addicted to opium. The Subdivisional Officer of North Lakhimpur writes "The people are prosperous but do not cultivate more than necessary for their annual needs. For clothes and payment of their revenue they borrow from the Kayas, or sell mustard and pulses to Kayas, who buy at their own prices." More than two-fifths of the whole district population of 588,000 are foreign-born, and of those born in the district a great number must be children of foreigners.

The transition to an entirely foreign Lakhimpur, foreshadowed in 1911, is not yet complete however. On the other side of the picture, an advance in education and some new breadth of outlook is recorded. Educated local people are showing an inclination to embark on new enterprise: some have taken up tea-planting with success, some have started business, and others taken up occupations which would have been considered derogatory ten years ago. Education and slackening of caste rules are said to be the reasons for this. Of progress by the indigenous cultivator there is nothing to note except a movement against opium. The treasury figures of opium sales, however, do not indicate much success in shaking off the habit as yet. In 1911 the consumption was 416 maunds; in 1921, 537 maunds.

Whether the movement of the educated classes will expand and whether they can succeed in waking up their cultivating fellows from their primal laziness is a matter for the future; possibly the census of 1931 will disclose something more than mere increase in numbers among the indigenous population, which increase appears almost certain.

Sadiya.

32. The Sadiya Frontier Tract was constituted as a separate district in 1912 and given its present name in 1914. It was formerly administered as a part of Lakhimpur. The whole mauza of Sadiya and some other portions were transferred, with an area of 389 square miles. In 1911, only this part and some Miris living along the bank of the Brahmaputra were censused, with a population of 16,996. At the census of 1921, no attempt has been made to enumerate, or even to estimate, the remoter tribes under loose political control, but a regular census was taken of new areas under direct control. These are, the Pasighat subdivision; the tracts containing Khamtis, Abors and Mishmis, in the Sadiya subdivision; and the new Lohit Valley road, leading north-east to the Miju Mishmi country.

These areas, with a newly-started saw-mill, account for 17,619 people. Immigration in the shape of the political coolie corps and a number of Nepali and other settlers gives another 4,000. The actual increase in the ten years is 22,535; but only 885, about one-twenty-fifth of this, can be ascribed to natural growth. Of the rest, less than one-fifth is due to immigration, and nearly four-fifths to census of new areas.

Public health was good, except for influenza. There is plenty of land for settlers but it is all covered in virgin forest or rough jungle. There is no defined outer boundary to the district. Consequently, the Director of Surveys has not been able to supply the true area of the district, but only that of the part transferred from Lakhimpur, 389 square miles. The Political Officer estimates his area at 3,000 square miles for Sadiya subdivision and 1,200 for Pasighat. According to this the density of Pasighat is a little greater than that of Sadiya, the average for the district being only 9 per square mile. The only mauza, Sadiya, has a density of 33. Considerable expansion of the population, both by growth and by new immigrant graziers and cultivators, may be expected before the next census.

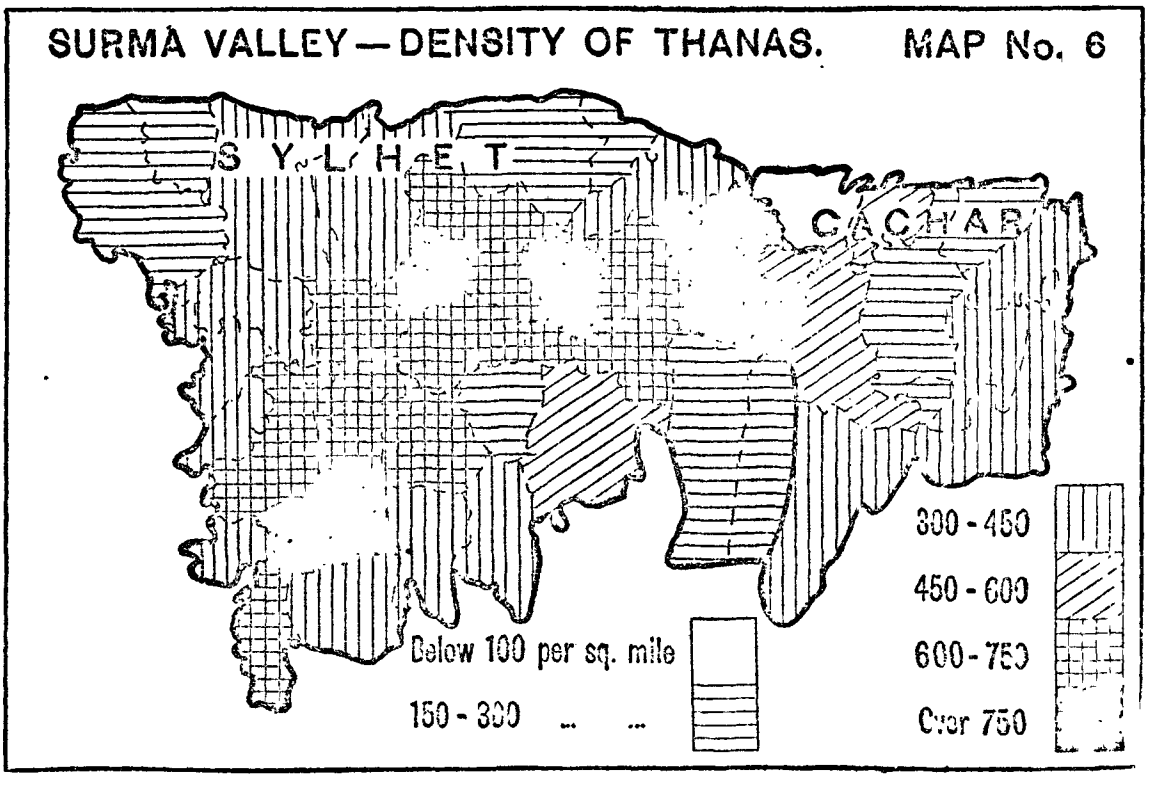
Balipara.

33. This district was constituted in 1914, 22 square miles being transferred from Lakhimpur and 500 from Darrang. The jurisdiction of the Political Officer extends over the plains and certain parts of the hills to the north inhabited by Bhutias, Akas, Daflas, Apa Tanangs and Miris, but the census was taken only in the plains part, 13 villages. The calculated population of 1911 was 863 and this has increased to 3,819, chiefly by the establishment of a tea garden and of some new Dafla villages. The area is practically all forest, but more expansion may be looked for by new settlement of hillmen and possible extension of tea. The density, calculated on the transferred area only, is the lowest in the province, 7 per square mile.

As in the case of Sadiya, there is no fixed outer or northern boundary, except for a small portion where there is direct contact with Bhutan and with the Tibetan province of Towang.

Surma Valley—General.

34. The creation of some new thanas and subdivision of old ones enables us to follow density in the Surma Valley more minutely than in 1911. For instance, Karimganj thana in 1911 included Badarpur, Patharkandi and Ratabari outposts, with an average density of 434. This is now resolved into four police stations for which areas and population have been tabulated separately, showing densities of 941, 460, 206 and 233. From map No. 6 it will be seen that population is crowded most in a belt running east and west in the middle of the valley and then bending to the south-west corner.



Practically this is the line of the Surma river and its confluent the Barak or Kusiara. The reasons for this density are that these rivers are the oldest main lines of communication with Bengal on the west, and that the country is somewhat higher near the river banks, producing more regular crops than the distant parts. In the

west and north-west, and generally in the north of the valley, are low-lying areas of less density liable to destructive floods both from sudden rises in the river on one side and from hill waters on the other; these floods do not drain off quickly and their damage is thus greater than that done to higher land near the big rivers. In the south the areas are of lower density owing to their including a good deal of forest reserve and the jungle-covered spurs of the Tripura State hills.

The valley has lost on the balance of migration; the natural growth has been 4 per cent., but the actual increase only 3·3 per cent. The incidence of disease seems to have been no worse on the whole than in other parts of the province and the small natural growth is probably to be attributed to the series of disastrous floods, extending even to the centre of the district, experienced by Sylhet during the decade.

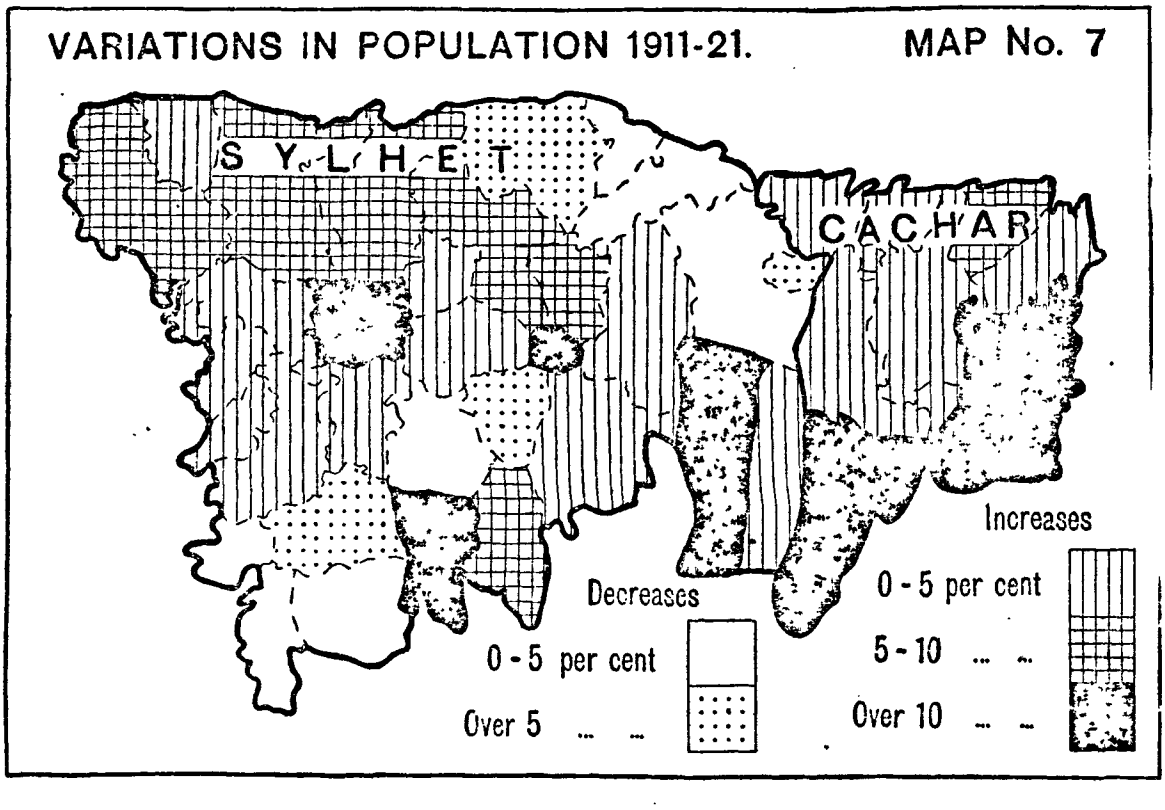
The chief increases of population have been in Cachar plains, 6·4 per cent., and the Sunamganj subdivision of Sylhet, 6·6 per cent. In Habiganj subdivision, the Jaintia Parganas and a few other thanas, there were slight decreases. There are no separate migration statistics for Cachar plains and the North Cachar Hills, but movements into and out of the hills have probably been numerically insignificant; there will be little error in taking the whole district figures of immigration and emigration for the Cachar plains.

Cachar.

35. The density of Cachar plains has increased by 16 to 239; it is far less than the Sylhet density because of the geographical position, further east and more closely surrounded by hills, and owing to historical reasons. The west of the district is most thickly populated, Hailakandi subdivision having 491 persons per square mile against the 216 of Silchar. Katigora is still the most sparsely peopled thana in the whole valley, on account of its large area of jungle outlying from the hills on the north; the density of Silchar and Sonai thanas is kept down by large areas of reserved forest in the south. The district has suffered from epidemics of small-pox and cholera in several years of the decade, as well as from influenza in 1918-19. In 1913, 1915 and 1916 much damage was done by floods, but the effects on the vitality of the people do not appear to have been so serious as in Sylhet, as the population statistics show.

The natural growth of population has been 13·4 per cent., which is as high as in most of the Assam Valley districts. Owing mainly to tea depression, however, there has been a large loss on the balance of migration; immigrants censused were fewer by 20,000. Emigrants were more by over 3,400, partly from Cachar cultivators seeking new lands in the Assam Valley, and partly from departure of discharged garden coolies to their homes or to new gardens in other districts.

SURMA VALLEY



All thanas have grown in population, Katlicherra and Sonai having the greatest increases. There is no great pressure on the soil, but owing to the large area of reserved forest there is not much land available for expansion; apart from the tea industry, therefore, only moderate growth of the population may be looked for.

Sylhet.

36. As noted above, the density in Sylhet follows the course of the central rivers. It is greatest in thanas Karimganj (941), Golabganj (751), Biswanath (863) and Habiganj (786), the mean for the district being 472 against 459 to the square mile in 1911. The normal cultivated area is estimated by the Director of Land Records and Agriculture at some 2·4 million acres, or an average of nearly one acre per person. This should be more than enough for support of the population, but much of the district is low-lying and floods take heavy and frequent toll of the crops. The density is lowest in the south of Karimganj subdivision, where there are large areas of hill and forest; in the Jaintia parganas of North Sylhet; and in the Dharampassa and Tahirpur thanas, north-west of Sunamganj. In the last two regions the land is very low, developing into inland seas in the rains.

The Deputy Commissioner writes :—

"In consequence of damage caused by flood, earthquake and cyclone and prevalence of epidemics, *e.g.*, small-pox, cholera, influenza and *kala-azar*, the condition of the people was far from prosperous during the decade. The excessively high prices of all commodities of daily use have greatly worked upon the condition of the people. Successive failures of crops due to flood have driven the peasants to borrowing. About 80 per cent. of the whole population are in debt and about 90 per cent. are badly clothed..... The introduction and sale of standard *dhuties, saries* and shirtings at prices fixed by Government was greatly appreciated by the people and relieved the situation to a considerable extent."

Notwithstanding these checks, the population has increased by 68,006 or 2·7 per cent. of the 1911 total; this is exactly the same percentage increase as that of Bengal. Of the total, natural growth accounts for nearly seven-eighths, being at the rate of 2·5 per cent. Low as it is, this is more than double the rate of increase of the all-India population. The gain by excess of immigration is only 9,191; the tea garden population had been increasing fairly steadily up to 1920, when the slump came, otherwise there had been a large deficit on migration. The increase is distributed irregularly among the thanas, as will be seen from a glance at map No. 7. It is fairly uniform in Sunamganj subdivision, while in the other subdivisions, both increases and decreases occur. In North Sylhet with a general increase of 15,000, or 2·9 per cent., the Jaintia parganas show a decrease. It is not difficult to understand the decrease, mainly in the Gowainghat and Jaintiapur *thanas*: this area has suffered from a succession of floods extraordinary even for Sylhet, in the last few years of the decade; in the opinion of the Sub-Deputy Collector of the Gowainghat tahsil, worse than has been known before. The vitality of the people must have been lowered and mortality at the extremes of life raised. It is probable also that the number of marriages fell off in this flood area especially.

In Karimganj subdivision, Badarpur and Karimganj police stations show decreases, but I do not think these are real. In 1911 these two with Patharkandi and Ratabari were combined in a much greater Karimganj thana, and if the four be considered together, it is found that there has been an increase of 3 per cent. The adjustments of 1911 figures were made on data supplied by the local authorities and the difference is probably due to an error in these data. The increase in Karimganj subdivision as a whole is 16,106, or 3·5 per cent. For similar reasons the apparent large increase (56·6 per cent.) in the Srimangal thana, and decrease (22·6) in Rajnagar, with the small decrease of 0·4 in Maulvi Bazar thana, are open to doubt. Maulvi Bazar thana has been divided into four parts since 1911; taken as a whole these have an increase of 3·4 per cent., so that an error in the 1911 data is probable. The increase for South Sylhet subdivision is 10,020, or 2·5 per cent.

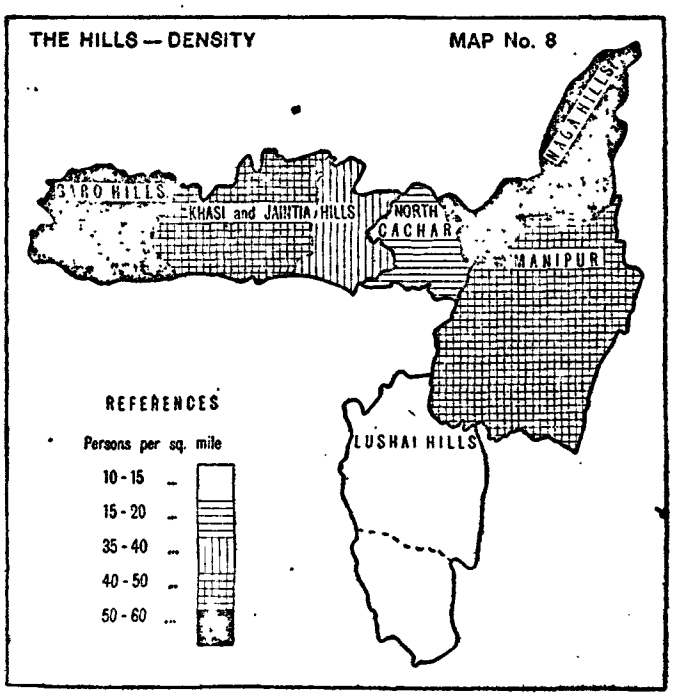
Habiganj thana has decreased by 6·1 per cent., and smaller losses are shown by Muchikandi, Madhabpur and Lakhai. These cannot be explained by any error in calculation, as although there are slight increases in Baniachong, Ajmiriganj and Nabiganj thanas, the whole Habiganj subdivision shows a decrease of 4,781 or 0·8 per cent. The local Officers and non-officials explain this as being due to bad epidemics of disease, chiefly influenza, small-pox and *kala-azar*. It is, however, doubtful if Habiganj suffered more than other parts.

I think that emigration is a probable factor. Bengal statistics show that the number of Sylhet people censused in Tripura State is now nearly 34,000—an increase of 8,400 over the 1911 number. We have no record of migration by subdivisions, but as the deficit thanas are close to the Tripura border and there is communication by rail and otherwise, it is fair to conjecture that a considerable number of the emigrants have gone over from Habiganj. All the decrease is among Hindus; the Muhammadans of the subdivision have increased by over 2,000. Probably some of the emigrants are tea garden coolies. Some 4,500 Hindu Tiparas have also left Sylhet owing to the prohibition of *jhuming* in the southern hills.

In Sylhet there is still waste land to spare in parts, and though there is some pressure on the soil it is not as great as in some of the neighbouring districts of Eastern Bengal. Large numbers of the cultivators are owners of their holdings who are not likely to seek new homes. Some have settled in Nowgong, but the movement is stopping as the climate of the Brahmaputra Valley is said to be found unsuitable for Surma Valley people. By the next census, an increase of the indigenous population seems probable, large or small according to climatic conditions, with the birth rate continuing its recovery after the influenza depression. The tea gardens of the district have depended rather on quantity than on quality of the outturn in the past, owing to the large areas planted in *bil* soil. Growth of the immigrant population depends therefore on the tea market.

The Hills.

37. The area of the hills is so great compared with the population that an ordinary variation of population makes little difference in density. This natural division has an average of but 37 persons per square mile against the 34 of 1911. The order of density is the same as at last census, the Garo Hills being first with 57. The areas of the plains mauzas of the Garo Hills are now known; their mean density is 65, while that of the hill mauzas, whose area is more than three times as great, is 55. The Naga Hills district has 52 to the square mile, Manipur only 45. In the other districts we can find subdivisional densities, as the areas are known separately. In the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Shillong has 43 to the square mile against the 35 of Jowai. The North Cachar Hills density is 16, as at last census. The Lushai Hills is the most sparsely populated district in the province, excepting the two Frontier Tracts; Aijal has 15, and Lungleh subdivision only 11 persons per square mile.



All the districts show a fair increase, except the North Cachar Hills, where there is a small decrease, 2 per cent., due partly to epidemics and partly to migration of Kukis, Kacharis and Mikirs to other districts after exhaustion of the best *jhum* lands available.

The total hills population has increased by 83,304, or 8·2 per cent., of which about three-fourths is natural growth. The extra immigrants are mostly Nepali graziers, labourers and retired sepoys.

Garo Hills.

38. The Garo Hills population increased by 20,204 or 12·7 per cent. There has been a recrudescence of *kala-azar*, and excessive rain in the hills and floods in the plains mauzas did damage in several years. Some landless cultivators from Mymensingh and Goalpara have come into the plains portion, but for the most part the district remains the same. The Deputy Commissioner attributes the steady rate of increase to the unchanging life of the people. The hill Garos are prosperous and contented; they are well fed and well housed; their *jhums* provide for all their needs and they have been getting good prices for their cotton and lac. Along the banks of the Someswari they have taken to growing oranges and other fruit, and this is expected to add to their material prosperity. The war had little effect, as the people's needs are few. A Garo Labour Corps went to France in 1917-18, and the men have settled down on their return with no apparent change in their outlook on life.

Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

39. In the Jowai subdivision there was an actual decrease of 5,227, or 6·7 per cent. Although the population of Shillong subdivision increased by 8·5 per cent., the net result is an increase of only 3·3 per cent. in the whole district. There was no appreciable variation in migration in the decade, and the Deputy Commissioner attributes the Jowai loss of

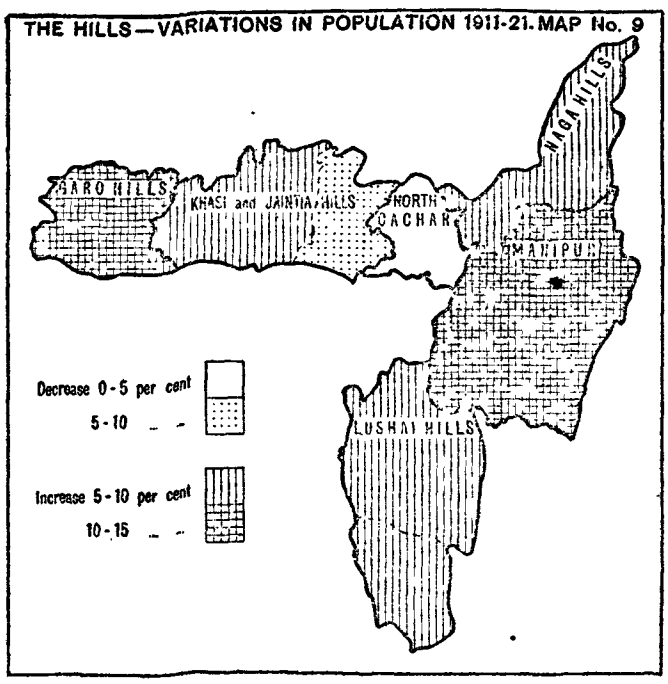
population to the Syntengs having been more seriously affected by influenza and other epidemics. A good many Khasis went to the war as labourers, motor drivers, and clerks, and the resultant flow of ready money was helpful. The density is low in both subdivisions and there is no pressure on the soil.

There has been damage to crops by excessive rainfall and wind at times, but the public health has not been affected thereby. Wages and prices of agricultural produce have risen with consequent benefit to the people, and on the whole the period appears to have been one of some prosperity. The rebound after the fall in the birth rate following the influenza years should result in a steady increase in future.

Naga Hills.

40. The Naga Hills increase is 9,910, Kohima subdivision gaining 2,894 and Mokokchung 7,016. About 7,800 trans-Dikhu Konyaks and others were included for the first time and censused in Mokokchung subdivision. Reference to subsidiary Table IV shows a gain of some 9,500 on the balance of migration, so that the old population has really decreased by 7,500 or nearly 5 per cent.

Here again, the influenza epidemic fell very severely on certain parts of the country; for instance, it attacked Kohima just when 2,000 coolies were concentrated there for service in the Kuki expedition. Kohima village itself scattered into the jungle for a month, leaving corpses unburied in the houses or rotting in the fields, and many other villages were no less badly affected. Probably a certain number of people have gone across into unadministered territory, and are thus unaccounted for in the census, but it is clear that the health of the district has been more severely affected than that of other hill areas, excepting Jowai: Of the 7,000 immigrants censused, some are Nepalese settlers and some are Kukis and Kacharis from the North Cachar Hills.



The mean density of the district is only 52 It varies primarily as between the country of the Angamis, who practise terrace cultivation, and that of the other tribes, who live by *jhuming*. The Angamis can cultivate the same land every year, and in consequence their villages are much larger and closer together; others can *jhum* the same land only for two or three years and must then migrate or find other means of subsistence. The Deputy Commissioner reports that there is even now considerable pressure on the soil in the Sema country, where scarcity is becoming more acutely felt every year. The Semas are already the most dense on the ground, and their land has been *jhumed* very severely.

Lushai Hills.

41. The Lushai Hills have gained 7,202, or 7·9 per cent. in the decade. The natural increase is only 2·7 per cent., this low figure being due probably to influenza having attacked the district twice: once in the general epidemic of 1918-19, and again at the end of 1920 and beginning of 1921 in the eastern part of the district. In the latter attack about 15 per cent. of the people living in the affected area were carried off. In 1911-12 the bamboos in the hills seeded and in consequence rats appeared and devoured almost the whole of the rice crop. The scarcity was relieved by Government relief and loans; it is stated that the people still have much loan money to pay off and therefore have not made much progress towards prosperity.

A whole village and many families from other villages of Aijal subdivision have emigrated to Tripura, apparently to avoid impressed labour. Some people of Lungleh subdivision have gone over to the Chittagong Hill Tracts and to Tripura for the same reason. At the same time, about 4,000 people have come over from the Chin Hills and settled in the Lushai Hills to avoid oppression from their chiefs.

Manipur.

42. The population of Manipur State has increased by 37,794. This is 10·9 per cent. of the 1911 population; it is much less than the increase of the previous decade, owing to the falling off in rate of growth in the hill section. Almost all the present increase is in the valley section. Migration is of little account in the State and the President of the Durbar explains the increase as due to the natural expansion of a population living in a fertile valley under an ordered system of administration. The people are more prosperous than they were ten years ago, owing to the increase of trade and the facilities for export of rice brought about by the Manipur-Dimapur cart road. The land revenue increase, which may be taken as an index of extension of the area under cultivation, is over 33 per cent.

In the hill section the conditions have been less happy, and there is an increase of 1,097 only where the previous census had shown 29,000. The causes tending to this low rate have been the extra havoc wrought by influenza among the hill tribes, the unsettlement caused by the Kuki rebellion of 1917-19 and its adverse effect on the birth rate, and a famine caused by rats among the south-west area Kukis in 1911-12-13. The Tangkhuls, who have fine wet rice cultivation, are the most prosperous of the hill tribes. Administration has been improved by the division of the hill section into four parts, the headquarters and three outlying subdivisions, with an officer in charge of each. Unfortunately the areas of the different sections are not known exactly, so that density and increase of population can only be shown for the State as a whole on the maps given above. The President of the Durbar gives the approximate density of the hill section as 18 and of the valley as 387 to the square mile, but it appears that the latter figure is calculated only on the cultivated area; there is still room for expansion in the south of the valley and land is now being opened out there.

The valley population is more than double that of the hill section and it is concentrated in an area less than a quarter of that of the hills. With internal peace the natural expansion of the population of both areas should be greater in the next decade than in the one under review.

Summary and conclusions.

43. I have shown that of the large increase of 929,000 in the population of the province, nearly half is due to immigration, and that most of the increase, both in immigration and in natural population, has occurred in the Brahmaputra Valley. The immigration is partly to tea gardens, partly for colonization of new lands by cultivators crowded out of their native districts and partly for grazing, labour or trade. The future of the tea industry cannot be foretold, but it is evident that even with the restricted output adopted by tea companies in 1921, a very large labour force must be kept up to supply Assam's share of the world's demand for tea; at any rate further permanent reduction on any large scale of the tea garden immigrant population appears improbable. As to the stream of Bengal cultivators settling in the Brahmaputra Valley, it seems that we had only the advance guard in 1911 and that now the main body is just beginning to arrive. The news of the promised land has spread to other districts besides Mymensingh, the colonists are filling up the riverain tracts of the four lower districts of the valley and spreading inland from the Brahmaputra; their number has increased nearly fivefold since the last census, and it will be not surprising if they extend further up the valley and if the present number is doubled or even trebled by the next census. They are industrious cultivators, and Assam is one of the few parts of India where there is still ample land awaiting settlers, and with no need for artificial irrigation.

Colonization by *ex*-garden coolies and by Nepalis is likely also to increase considerably; the latter, coming originally as graziers and dairymen, are beginning to settle as cultivators in several parts. *Kala-azar* has increased again but the prospects of treatment and segregation are hopeful.

Natural growth of population has been greatest in the Brahmaputra Valley, Cachar Plains, the Garo Hills and Manipur, all of which, except Cachar, are areas with plenty of land for expansion.

It does not appear that influenza affected these districts with the same severity as was found in other parts of the province or in the rest of India. The birth rate is recovering, and continued normal or high natural increases are probable. In the rest of the Hills and in Sylhet the epidemic did more damage, and as it carried off many people in the prime of life, recovery and reproduction may be slower. In the Surma Valley influenza showed itself most in the lowering of the birth rate in 1919 and 1920, and in a very high infantile mortality in 1919, though doubtless this is

due also to continued local scarcity caused by floods. In the absence of another widespread epidemic, the population of Sylhet should grow considerably after the first two or three years of the next decade, though not so quickly as that of other districts. With recurrent floods and insect pests destroying crops and with the highest density in the province, the prosperity of the Sylhet people is likely to vary inversely with their increase, unless they adopt more intensive methods of cultivation or for the slack months some subsidiary occupation more remunerative than attending conversational gatherings. If the *charka* be found wanting—and not a few have been thrown into corners to remain covered with dust—the hope may be hazarded that a solution will be found in a wider use of the handloom.

No direct influence of religion or race on population variations can be traced. Muhammadans predominate in Sylhet, and for reasons given by Mr. McSwiney in 1911 we should expect a higher rate of increase among them: yet Sylhet has less proportionate natural increase than its neighbour Cachar, where Hindus are in the majority. Goalpara, with a majority of Bengalis, has a rate of increase between those of Kamrup and Sibsagar, both Assamese districts.

Enquiries have been made as to the prevalence of infanticide, abortion and birth control. Infanticide is hardly known, except for two or three instances which have been brought to the notice of the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills. In these cases and in the more frequent cases of abortion which are believed to occur, the object is always to get rid of the offspring of unauthorised intrigues, usually between persons of the same exogamous group and therefore regarded as incestuous. In several other districts abortion is believed to be practised to some extent, but specific instances are not known. Western methods of birth control are now known to a good many of the educated class and are used to some extent by non-orthodox Hindus. There are said to be some village women cunning in the knowledge and adminstration of special salts, unripe fruit juices and caustic root-saps which cause miscarriage or abortion.

In time some of the above practices may perhaps affect the increase of the middle classes, but the general population is unaffected.

The Assamese.

44. In the census reports of 1901 and 1911 calculations were made in the Chapters on movement of population as to the variation of the Assamese people, by tabulating certain prominent castes for the five upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley. I have thought it better to deal with this in Chapter XI (Caste, tribe, etc.). It is enough to note here that the number of people who can be distinctively called Assamese has increased.

Houses and families.

45. The actual numbers of houses in districts and lesser divisions are given in Imperial Table I and Provincial Table I. The definition of a house was practically the same as that of the three previous censuses, *i.e.*, it was generally the buildings, one or many, inhabited by one commensal family. It was not the homestead or enclosure. There were a few exceptions such as bungalows and public buildings (jails, police lines, etc.), where each ward, barrack or building was taken as a house; and coolie lines, in which each doorway was counted as a house. The definition is well suited to the province and was understood everywhere. Only one or two small difficulties arose; *e.g.*, in Darrang cases of agricultural servants living in a separate house but receiving uncooked food from the common store, and in Lakhimpur, Abor and Miri houses often containing two or three families but having only one doorway. Before 1891 the definition was different; hence in subsidiary Table IV, figures for only the last four censuses have been given. This table shows that the number of persons per house (taken to the nearest whole number) is the same as in 1911, for almost every district. In Goalpara and the Surma Valley, however, there is an increase of one person per house.

In the former the difference is only slight, if the calculation be taken to fractions; it is probably due to numbers of the new immigrants not yet having divided up into separate *khanas* or built permanent houses. In the Surma Valley, the difference is due to a remarkable decrease of 34,000 houses in Sylhet, where from the total gain in population we should have expected about 13,000 more houses. In the province as a whole and in all districts except Sylhet there has been an increase in houses proportional more or less to the actual increase in population. The second part of subsidiary Table VII shows that in Sylhet there are now only 95 houses to the square mile against the 102 of the last census. The decrease appears in four of the five subdivisions of the district and does not appear to be due to any different interpretation of the definition of a house from that taken elsewhere. Probably it reflects to

some extent the bad economic conditions of the decade in Sylhet; the decline in prosperity has lowered the marriage rate and has made it cheaper for families of the agricultural population to stick together than for married sons to establish new houses. The high cost of building materials is also a probable factor; many houses were destroyed by a cyclone in 1919 and some temporary villages were washed away in the floods of other years; these have not all been rebuilt. Again in North Sylhet in 1911 there were along the Kulaura-Sylhet railway extension many temporary coolie huts which have now disappeared.

The average number of persons per house in the province is 5, as at the last three censuses. Of course, this must not be taken to mean that 5 persons will usually be found in a single house or family. The result found at the enquiry into social conditions at Reading in 1912-13 is probably equally applicable in Assam, *viz.*:—that the so-called normal family of man, wife and 3 dependent children and no other earners is comparatively rare*. There is no over-crowding; houses are almost invariably of one storey, and, except in flooded areas in the rains, there is generally ample space in or around villages for children to play.

The joint family.

46. The family is defined as "a number of persons living and eating together in one mess, with their resident dependents, such as mother, widowed sisters, younger brothers, etc., and their servants who reside in the house."

In many cases, landed property remains joint after the younger earning members have separated and perhaps moved to other places for economic reasons; this applies to Muhammadans as well as to Hindus.

I have received a number of interesting notes from correspondents on the subject of the joint family system. There is a general consensus of opinion that the process of disintegration is being continued, but it has not been hastened much in the last ten years. It must be remembered that even before, the family seldom remained united after the lifetime of the brothers, and often broke up on the death of the father. Srijut Dalim Chandra Borah, M.L.C., writes—

"Within my memory I have not seen any appreciable change in the system. I have never seen brothers living together as members of a joint family even for a decade of years after their parents' death. In the majority of cases it does not extend beyond one generation."

The causes of the break-up are bitter quarrels, inconvenience of living in the same compound, a wider outlook on life due to modern conditions and a desire to have a separate purse on the part of the younger members of the family. It is the fundamental difference in ideas between the ancient and the modern which appears to have grown somewhat in the decade. Babu Kshirode Chandra Purkayastha, M.A., of Karimganj describes this as "the spirit of individualism roused in the country by the spread of education expressing itself, *inter alia*, in a protest against the domineering autocracy of the mother-in-law and the elderly matrons of the family."

These causes are, however, acting more on the educated and urban communities than on the mass of the people at present; Assam being predominantly rural, the process must necessarily be slow. Economic causes also, as I have suggested above in the case of Sylhet, are likely to retard the process in the case of the agricultural population, although the tie of the family is said to be weaker in the case of the poorer classes.

The results of the general tendency are of mixed good and evil. Some of my correspondents point to the moral deterioration of the family and the neglect of religious rites, others laud the spirit of individual independence and self-reliance and the growth of an extra-parochial, even national, spirit. Perhaps the most serious economic consequence is to destroy the traditional system of co-operative sickness and old-age insurance, for which there is at present no substitute.

* *See* Bowley, "The measurement of social Phenomena," 1915.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Density, water-supply and crops.

District and natural division.	Mean density per square mile in 1921.	Percentage of total area of		Percentage of cultivable area of		Percentage of gross cultivated area which is irrigated.	Normal rainfall.	Percentage of gross cultivated area which is under					
		Cultivable.	Net cultivated.	Net cultivated.	Double cropped.			Rice.	Other food grains (except rice).	Oil-seeds.	Jute.	Tea.	All other crops.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
ASSAM	130	71	18	25	3	3·3	118	75·7	2·1	5·2	1·3	5·9	9·8
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	136	70	16	23	3	5·8	93	67·4	3·1	8·5	2·2	7·9	10·9
Goalpara	193	61	17	27	5	...	108	73·6	0·7	11·1	8·5	0·1	6·0
Kamrup	197	51	24	46	8	11·1	78	75·2	4·0	9·8	1·2	0·4	9·4
Darrang	164	65	16	25	2	22·1	84	66·4	3·7	5·7	1·9	12·3	10·0
Nowgong	108	85	12	14	2	...	67	57·1	7·8	16·2	1·7	3·9	13·3
Sibsagar	162	71	19	26	1	0·4	87	64·7	1·7	4·8	0·1	13·5	15·2
Lakhimpur	143	83	12	14	1	...	114	57·9	2·3	4·5	0·1	23·6	11·6
Sadiya	9	...	...	4	1	48·2	107	65·7	6·7	8·4	0·5	1·7	17·0
Balipara...	7	...	...	...	...	...	96	...	...	...	...	..	...
SURMA VALLEY	420	66	47	70	9	...	134	84·4	0·2	2·5	0·5	4·7	7·7
Cachar Plains	269	41	13	32	4	...	125	67·4	0·9	2·9	0·1	16·7	12·0
Sylhet	472	84	70	83	10	...	143	86·6	0·1	2·4	0·6	3·1	7·2
HILLS	37	76	3	5	0·1	11·3	128	66·4	11·2	2·1	1·2	...	19·1
Garo Hills	57	90	5	5	1·0	19·5	107	60·9	2·1	5·8	4·1	...	27·1
Khasi and Jaintia Hills*	40	60	4	7	0·1	37·1	230	53·5	5·7	1·7	...	...	39·1
North Cachar Hills*	16	...	...	...	...	...	134	...	...	...	...	..	...
Naga Hills	52	80	5	6	...	...	88	70·0	17·6	...	...	...	12·4
Lushai Hills	14	72	2	3	0·0	0·4	107	75·6	17·1	0·7	...	...	6·6
Manipur	45	...	...	...	...	...	61	...	...	...	...	...	...

N.B.—In the calculation for the province as a whole and for natural divisions those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account. The agricultural percentages have been worked out on the basis of normal areas recorded in the Season and Crops report of 1920-21.

* The agricultural statistics of Cachar include those of North Cachar and those of Khasi and Jaintia Hills are for British villages only.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Distribution of the population according to density.

District and natural division.	Thanas with a population per square mile of													
	Under 150.		150—300.		300—450.		450—600.		600—750.		750—900.		Over 900.	
	Area in square miles.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
ASSAM	44,978	2,394	8,638	1,906	4,857	1,759	1,224	608	1,352	868	363	287	178	168
	73·1	*30·0*	*14·0*	*23·8*	*7·8*	*22·0*	*2·0*	*7·6*	*2·2*	*10·9*	*·6*	*3·6*	*·3*	*2·1*
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	14,637	1,249	6,506	1,390	2,514	892	639	326	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60·3	*32·4*	*26·7*	*36·0*	*10·4*	*23·1*	*2·6*	*8·5*	...	...	...	...	...	...
Goalpara	1,835	191	1,673	386	385	151	61	35	...	...	...	...	...	...
	46·4	*25·0*	*42·3*	*50·6*	*9·7*	*19·8*	*1·6*	*4·6*	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kamrup	2,151	244	845	168	517	196	282	155	...	...	...	...	...	...
	56·7	*33·0*	*22·3*	*22·0*	*13·6*	*25·7*	*7·4*	*20·3*	...	...	...	...	...	...
Darrang	1,248	130	1,543	300	144	48	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	42·5	*27·2*	*52·6*	*62·8*	*4·9*	*10·0*	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nowgong	3,155	226	239	56	365	116	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	84·2	*56·8*	*6·1*	*14·1*	*9·7*	*29·1*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sibsagar	3,280	232	679	194	744	261	296	136	...	..	...	...	...	...
	63·1	*28·2*	*16·9*	*23·6*	*14·3*	*31·7*	*5·7*	*16·5*	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lakhimpur	2,057	182	1,340	286	359	120	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	54·8	*31·0*	*35·7*	*48·6*	*9·5*	*20·4*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sadiya	389	40	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...
	100	*100*	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Balipara	522	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	..
	100	*100*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
SURMA VALLEY	675	52	2,130	516	2,343	868	585	282	1,352	868	363	287	178	168
	8·9	*1·7*	*27·9*	*17·0*	*30·7*	*28·5*	*7·7*	*9·3*	*17·7*	*28·5*	*4·8*	*9·4*	*2·3*	*5·6*
Cachar Plains ...	675	52	575	141	441	175	256	132	...	...	...	...	...	...
	34·7	*10·4*	*29·5*	*28·2*	*22·6*	*35·0*	*13·2*	*26·4*	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sylhet	...	...	1,555	375	1,902	693	329	150	1,352	868	363	287	178	168
	...	...	*27·4*	*14·8*	*33·5*	*27·3*	*5·8*	*5·9*	*23·8*	*34·1*	*6·4*	*11·3*	*3·1*	*6·6*
HILLS*	29,666	1,093	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	100	*100*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

* In the Hills the density everywhere is below 60 per square mile.

NOTE.—The figures in italics show the percentage which the area and population in each class bear to the total area and population of the district.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Variation in relation to density since 1872.

District and Natural Division.	Percentage of variation Increase (+) Decrease (−).					Net variation 1872-1921.	Mean density per square mile.					
	1911 to 1921.	1901 to 1911.	1891 to 1901.	1881 to 1891.	1872 to 1881.		1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1872.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ASSAM	**+ 13·2**	**+15·2**	**+11·8**	**+ 6·8**	**+23·6**	**+ 92·5**	**130**	**115**	**100**	**89**	**83**	6[5]
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	**+ 24·1**	**+18·7**	**+ 5·8**	**+10 0**	**+19 5**	**+ 24·1**	**136**	**126**	**106**	**101**	**92**	**77**
Goalpara	+ 26·9	+ 30·0	+ 2·0	+ 1·4	+ 15·3	+ 96·8	193	152	117	115	113	98
Kamrup	+ 14·2	+ 13·3	− 7·1	− 1·7	+ 14·8	+ 35·8	197	173	153	164	167	146
Darrang	+ 27·0	+ 11·9	+ 9·7	+ 13·6	+ 15·8	+ 103·2	164	110	99	90	80	69
Nowgong	+ 31·9	+ 15·8	− 24·8	+ 10·3	+ 21·0	+ 53·3	108	79	68	90	92	68
Sibsagar	+ 19·1	+ 15·6	+ 24·4	+ 22·4	+ 23·5	+ 158·5	162	138	120	96	79	64
Lakhimpur	+ 30·3	+ 26·3	+ 46·2	+ 41·2	+ 48·3	+ 404·5	143	104	82	58	40	27
Sadiya	+ 132·6	*	...	...	...	...	9	*	...	...	...	...
Balipara	+ 342·5	*	...	...	...	...	7	*	...	...	...	...
SURMA VALLEY	**+ 3 3**	**+10·8**	**+ 5·3**	**+11·5**	**+17·6**	**+ 58 0**	**420**	**406**	**367**	**348**	**312**	**266**
Cachar Plains	+ 6·4	+ 13·4	+ 12·9	+ 25·1	+ 43·3	+ 144·1	269	253	223	198	158	110
Sylhet	+ 2·7	+ 10·3	+ 4·0	+ 9·4	+ 14·5	+ 47·8	472	459	416	400	365	319
HILLS	**+ 8·2**	**+13·5**	**+77·7**	**−22·1**	**+79·5**	**+218·7**	**37**	**34**	**29**	**16**	**21**	**12**
Garo Hills	+ 12·7	+ 14·9	+ 13·7	+ 11·0	+ 8·7	+ 77·6	57	51	44	39	35	32
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	+ 3·5	+ 16·2	+ 2·2	+ 17·9	+ 19·6	+ 73·3	40	39	34	33	28	23
North Cachar Hills	− 2·0	− 33 1	+115·5	− 5·9	− 32·9	− 10·9	16	16	24	11	12	18
Naga Hills	+ 6·6	+ 46·1	+ 6·0	+ 1·1	+ 34·6	+ 124·5	52	49	33	31	31	23
Lushai Hills	+ 7·9	+ 10·6	+ 88·9	†	†	†	14	13	11	6	†	†
Manipur	+ 10·9	+ 21·7	†	†	†	†	45	41	34	†	26	†

* Up to 1914, the two Frontier Tracts were included in Lakhimpur and Darrang districts.

† Figures not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Variation in Natural Population.

District and Natural Division.	Population in 1921.				Population in 1911.				Variation per cent. (1911-1921) in Natural population increase (+) decrease (−)
	Actual population.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Natural population.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ASSAM	**7,990,246**	**1,299,157**	**75,896**	**6,775,985***	**7,060,521**	**882,068**	**79,748**	**6,258,201**	**+ 8·3**
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	**3,855,892**	**1,040,356**	**17,448**	**2,832,984**	**3,107,242**	**632,476**	**25,918**	**2,500,684**	**+13·3**
Goalpara...	762,523	212,039	14,630	565,114	600,685	118,233	17,815	500,267	+13·0
Kamrup	762,671	80,952	15,113	696,832	667,786	31,573	22,948	659,161	+ 5·7
Darrang	477,935	193,559	4,267	288,643	377,314†	121,305	4,424	260,433	+10·8
Nowgong...	397,921	102,322	9,001	304,600	301,655	38,966	15,241	277,930	+ 9·6
Sibsagar	823,197	228,329	18,849	613,717	691,402	183,210	14,983	523,175	+17·3
Lakhimpur	588,295	259,166	7,816	336,945	469,400†	197,418	8,736	279,718	+20·5
Sadiya	39,531	13,514	134	26,151		Figures included in Lakhimpur.			
Balipara	3,819	2,840	3	982		Figures included in Darrang.			
SURMA VALLEY	**3,068 569**	**238,784**	**71,574**	**2,901,359**	**2,970,798**	**245,649**	**64,223**	**2,789 372**	**+ 4 0**
Cachar (including North Cachar)	527,228	90,574	13,681	450,335	497,463	110,507	10,207	397,163	+ 13·4
Sylhet	2,541,341	174,028	83,711	2,451,024	2,473,335	163,456	82,330	2,392,209	+ 2·5
HILLS	**1,065.785**	**46,991**	**17,556**	**1,036,350**	**982,481**	**36,674**	**20 852**	**966,659**	**+ 7·2**
Garo Hills	179,140	13,329	4,090	169,901	158,936	12,883	3,615	149,668	+ 13·5
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	243,263	12,959	5,041	235,345	235,069	11,511	3,599	227,157	+ 3·6
North Cachar Hills... ...	...	...	...	Separate figures not available.					
Naga Hills	160,060	7,205	2,707	156,462	151,059	3,614	8,715	156,151	+ 0·2
Lushai Hills	98,406	11,022	4,224	91,606	91,204	6,982	4,976	89,198	+ 2·7
Manipur	384,016	8,416	7,434	383,034	246,222	7,995	6,258	344,485	+ 11 2

* The figures for Assam in column 5 include 5,292 persons who cannot be tabulated by districts *viz* :—4,871 born in Assam unspecified ; and 421 born in tribal areas beyond the Inner Line.

† The 1911 figures for Darrang and Lakhimpur include Balipara and Sadiya Frontier Tracts respectively.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Comparison with Vital Statistics.

District and natural divisions.	In 1911-1920 total number of		Number per cent. of population of 1911 of		Excess (+) or deficiency (−) of births over deaths.	Increase (+) decrease (−) of population of 1921 compared with 1901.	
	Birth.	Deaths.	Birth.	Deaths.		Natural population.	Actual population.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ASSAM	1,952,760	1,892,415	32·4	31·4	+ 60,345	+ 417,154	+ 821,488
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	1,028,697	1,010,296	33·3	32·7	+ 18,401	+ 305,167	+ 723,159
Goalpara	240,961	222,872	40·1	37·1	+ 18,089	+ 64,847	+ 161,838
Kamrup	208,729	189,479	31·3	28·4	+ 19,250	+ 37,671	+ 94,885
Darrang	133,436	151,195	35·4	40·2	— 17,759	+ 28,210	+ 101,484
Nowgong	96,258	92,602	31·9	30·7	+ 3,656	+ 26,670	+ 96,266
Sibsagar	213,310	203,652	30·9	29·5	+ 9,658	+ 90,542	+ 131,795
Lakhimpur	136,003	150,496	30·1	33·3	— 14,493	+ 57,227	+ 136,891
SURMA VALLEY ...	924,063	882,119	31·4	29·9	+ 41,944	+ 111,987	+ 98,328
Cachar plains ...	149,235	138,906	31·7	29·5	+ 10,329	+ 53,172	+ 30,317
Sylhet	774,828	743,213	31·3	30·0	+ 31,615	+ 58,815	+ 68,006

NOTE.—The statement is exclusive of the figures of the hill districts and Frontier Tracts as birth and death statistics are not recorded in them as a whole.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Variation by thanas classified according to density.

Natural division.	Decade.	Variation in thanas with a population per square mile at commencement of decade.				
		Under 150.	150—300.	300—450.	450—600.	600 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		(a) Actual Variation.				
ASSAM	1911-1921	+ 491,064	+ 337,517	+ 60,483	+ 34,789	+ 5,872
Brahmaputra Valley ...	1911-1921	+ 408,212	+ 270,613	+ 58,016	+ 11,809	...
Surma Valley	1911-1921	+ 100	+ 66,904	+ 2,467	+ 22,980	+ 5,872
Hills	1911-1921	+ 82,752	...	...	...	...
		(b) Variation per cent. on 1911 figures.				
ASSAM	1911-1921	+ 22·3	+ 18·7	+ 4·5	+ 4·1	+ 0·7
Brahmaputra Valley ...	1911-1921	+ 35·9	+ 23·0	+ 9·4	+ 6·6	...
Surma Valley	1911-1921	+ 0·2	+ 10·7	+ 0·3	+ 3·4	+ 0·7
Hills	1911-1921	+ 8·2	...	...	...	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Persons per house and houses per square mile.

District and natural division.	Average number of persons per house.				Average number of houses per square mile.			
	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASSAM	5	5	5	5	27	25	23	23
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	5	5	5	5	29	27	23	24
Goalpara	6	5	5	6	34	28	22	21
Kamrup	5	5	5	5	39	34	31	35
Darrang	4	4	4	5	38	26	23	19
Nowgong	5	5	5	5	21	16	14	20
Sibsagar	4	4	4	5	37	31	27	34
Lakhimpur	4	4	4	5	35	25	22	15
Sadiya	5	*	*	*	2	*	*	*
Balipara	6	*	*	*	1	*	*	*
SURMA VALLEY	5	4	5	5	87	91	74	65
Cachar plains	4	4	4	4	65	58	46	33
Sylhet	5	5	5	5	95	102	84	80
HILLS	6	5	5	5	8	7	8	5
Garo Hills	5	5	5	5	12	10	9	7
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	5	5	5	5	9	8	7	6
North Cachar	4	4	4	5	4	4	6	2
Naga Hills	4	4	3	4	15	13	10	6
Lushai Hills	5	5	5	5	3	3	2	2
Manipur	5	5	5	*	9	8	18	*

* Not available.

CHAPTER II.

THE POPULATION OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

Character of towns urban and rural census.

47. The towns of Assam would hardly be recognised as such by dwellers in the great cities of other parts of India or of Europe or America Fear of earthquakes restricts buildings generally to one storey only, and economy and heavy rainfall induce a wide use of corrugated iron for roofs and sometimes for walls and fences also.

Paved streets with rows of high buildings, electric trams, statues of great men, are not to be seen. The picture palace has hardly appeared and moter bandits are as yet unknown. Even in the lean years of the last decade, however, several towns have made progress in providing amenities of life for their inhabitants. More filtered and piped water supplies have been installed and electric lighting systems have been constructed or are under construction here and there.

Vital statistics point to healthiness of the towns, with their better water-supply and facility for medical attendance, against rural areas. In every year of the decade, the urban death-rate was considerably lower than the provincial rate: this was especially noticeable in the influenza years 1918 and 1919 when the urban area death-rates were less than the provincial averages by 13 and 12·8 per thousand respectively. In 1919, the town crude birth-rate actually exceeded the provincial birth-rate, in spite of the deficit of females in towns. These facts indicate the existence of better conditions, rather than the different age and sex constitution, as the cause of superiority of town over rural health. Small as they are and often rural in appearance, there are 29 places in the province which have either some form of Municipal government or some other characteristics entitling them to be treated as towns. A town was defined for the census as including :—

(1) Every Municipality.

(2) All civil lines not within municipal limits.

(3) Every cantonment.

(4) Every other continuous collection of houses inhabited by not less than 5,000 persons, which the provincial Superintendent may decide to treat as a town for census purposes.

Under (1) are included 16 Municipalities, and 9 Unions under the old Bengal Municipal law of 1871. Of the other four, Imphal is the capital of Manipur, and has a small cantonment attached ; Kohima and Sadiya are district headquarters and trade centres ; and Lumding is a railway centre. The last three the Local Government ordered to be treated as towns, although they have been found to have less than 5,000 inhabitants. There are only four small cantonments : these have been treated as parts of the towns they adjoin.

Statistics of population for towns by sex, with variations for six censuses, are given in Imperial Table IV, and their population by religion in Imperial Table V. Urban and rural populations are compared in Imperial Tables I and III.

The three subsidiary tables at the end of this chapter show the proportion of the people living in towns and villages of different sizes ; groups of towns classified according to size, with percentage variations at previous censuses; and numbers per thousand of the adherents of the chief religions living in towns. A village was defined in different ways according to locality and circumstances, as noted in paragraph 50 below. Very careful precautions were taken to ensure that every part of the country was taken in including every possible encampment or spot where travellers might be found, as well as ordinary residential towns and villages. The travelling population (11,183) has been shown separately in Imperial Table III, and as there were no disturbing factors such as serious epidemics or large fairs on the census date, the distribution of the population in the towns and villages may be taken as normal.

Towns were enumerated generally by municipal wards and streets. A village, if small, was made one census block ; if large, two or more blocks. The rule was that a block should not fall partly in one and partly in another village. The staff employed in towns was naturally more educated than that of rural areas.

Urban population.

48. In the whole of Assam the number of people living in towns is 258,000, forming a proportion of only 3·2 per cent. of the provincial population. This is less than that in any other province, and less than a third of the proportion for all India. If British territory alone be considered, the percentage is only 2·3 ; the rest is due to the town of Imphal in Manipur, with its 80,003 inhabitants.

Imphal, indeed, though always classed as a town as the population is dense and as it is the capital of the State and seat of the Maharaja, is rather a collection of villages. Some forty-four per cent. of its people are agricultural, and another twenty per cent. live by hand-weaving and spinning.

Of the two Commissioners' divisions, the Assam Valley has 2·3 of its population town-dwellers, and the Surma Valley and Hill Division only 1·9. If the natural divisions are taken, the percentages are 2·9, 1·6 and 9·2 for the Brahmaputra and Surma Valleys and the Hills, respectively; the last figure is swollen by inclusion of Imphal.

The urban population has increased a little more in proportion than has the general population of the province ; but this is due to inclusion of new places as towns (these are noted on the title-page of Imperial Table IV). The net population of new towns and new areas added less areas excluded is 19,671.

Calculated only on the inhabitants of places classed as towns in 1911, the urban increase is 12·5 per cent., against a total provincial increase of 13·2 per cent. There is therefore no movement from the country to the towns ; on the other hand no back-to-the-land tendency is visible.

The following statement shows the distribution of the population in groups of places according to size and in rural territory for the last three censuses :—

Class of place.	1921.		1911.		1901.		Per cent. of total population.		
	No. of places (towns and villages).	Population.	No. of places.	Population.	No. of places.	Population.	1921.	1911.	1901.
TOTAL FOR PROVINCE ...	32,304	7,990,246	29,373	7,059,857	22,315	6,126,343	100·0	100·0	100·0
URBAN TERRITORY ...	*29*	*258,148*	*21*	*211,318*	*19*	*180,764*	*3·2*	*3·0*	*3·0*
I Towns of 100,000 or over ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
II „ 50,000 to 100,000 ...	1	80,003	1	74,650	1	67,093	1·0	1·1	1·1
III „ 20,000 to 50,000 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
IV „ 10,000 to 20,000 ...	6	88,536	5	65,879	3	36,781	1·1	0·9	0·6
V „ 5,000 to 10,000 ...	7	45,018	9	55,096	8	54,361	0·6	0·8	0·9
VI „ Under 5,000 ...	15	44,591	6	15,693	7	23,529	0·5	0·2	0·4
RURAL TERRITORY ...	*32,275*	*7,732,098*	*29,352*	*6,848,539*	*22,296*	*5,945,579*	*96·8*	*97·0*	*97·0*

N. B.—No adjustments have been made for changes in town—boundaries, hence figures for 1901 will not agree with those shown in Imperial Table IV which were adjusted for years prior to 1911.

The proportional increase is greatest in towns of under 5,000 people, but the most noticeable increases have occurred in the class of 10,000 to 20,000. Gauhati has gained about 4,000, Shillong over 3,500 and Sylhet nearly 2,500 ; the other towns of the class, a good deal less. It seems probable that these places will continue to grow, as they are of administrative importance as well as centres of trade. There is no overcrowding. The average population of a town is 8,902 and this is generally spread over a square mile or more.

Religion and sex in towns.

49. The number of females in towns is three-quarters of the number of males. In the 23 towns of British territory, however, there are only 635 females to every 1,000 males. In keeping with the general excess in Manipur State, Imphal has more females than males. Barpeta is the only other town showing excess of females. The same was the case in 1901 and 1911, and it is difficult to account for unless it is connected with the fact that Barpeta is a religious centre for the Mahapurushia sect.

Among adherents of the most numerous religions, Hindus show the greatest proportion of town-dwellers, 45 per thousand of the total Hindu population ; then follow Christians with 41 and Muhammadans with 20. Muhammadans are in the majority in the Brahmaputra Valley towns owing to the number of Bengal traders and settlers. Jains are all traders from Rajputana or western India; 355 per thousand of them live in towns. Of Animists, only 8 per mille are town-dwellers ; these are nearly all in Shillong and Imphal.

Villages.

50. The first of all the operations of the census was to prepare or revise the general register of villages in every district. In the districts where there had been a cadastral survey, that is in Cachar and the five upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley, it was found convenient to take the cadastral village as the census unit; this ensured that no village was omitted from the register, though it had the defect that the census village did not always correspond with the residential village.

Elsewhere in the plains, the definition was—

"A *gaon* or *gram* together with its adjacent *tolas*, *paras*, etc., provided that none of these dependent collections of houses are so large or so distant from the central village as to form in themselves true villages with distinct individual names."

In the hills and frontier tracts, it was taken generally as a collection of houses bearing a separate name; this corresponded generally with the revenue or tax-paying village. In the Mikir Hills of Nowgong the jurisdiction of a *goanbura* was counted as a village.

The number of villages has increased by nearly 3,000 to 32,275. Many of the new villages are those of the Eastern Bengal immigrants in the Assam Valley; others are groups of temporary cultivation or *pam* houses of local people. The average village population is 240, against 233 in 1911. The Cachar plains and North Cachar Hills have the highest and lowest averages, 415 and 81 per village respectively. More than half the population live in villages with less than 500 inhabitants; in the Garo Hills, 99 per cent. of the villages are of this size. The increase in number of villages is most marked in Goalpara, Darrang and Nowgong, where there are large numbers of new immigrants. Kamrup shows an increase of two villages only, but I suspect that some uninhabited villages were included in 1911. Curiously, Sylhet, which has a large decrease in the number of houses, has an increase of over 1,200 villages. I can only account for this as being due to the personal equation of the local officers in calling more hamlets villages than were so called in 1911.

The people of the several *paras* and *mahallas* which make up the great and composite village of Banichong proper, in Sylhet district, number now 32,957, against 31,226 in 1911.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Distribution of the population between towns and villages.

District and natural division.	Average population per		Number per mille residing in		Number per mille of urban population residing in towns with a population of				Number per mille of rural population residing in villages with a population of			
	Town.	Village.	Towns.	Villages.	20,000 and over.	10,000 to 20,000.	5,000 to 10,000.	Under 5,000.	5,000 and over.	2,000 to 5,000.	500 to 2,000.	Under 500.
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ASSAM	**8,902**	**240**	**32**	**968**	**310**	**343**	**174**	**173**	**4**	**56**	**373**	**567**
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	**5,794**	**307**	**29**	**971**	...	**402**	**355**	**243**	**7**	**86**	**397**	**510**
Goalpara	5,743	292	23	977	...	...	750	250	...	78	334	588
Kamrup	10,314	374	41	959	...	912	...	88	...	78	516	406
Darrang	4,182	284	18	982	...	...	878	122	...	40	375	585
Nowgong	4,770	198	24	976	...	...	722	278	...	...	415	585
Sibsagar	4,561	393	22	978	...	...	655	345	8	80	489	423
Lakhimpur	5,554	330	38	962	...	721	...	279	37	217	217	529
Sadiya	3,500	125	91	909	...	...	...	1,000	...	...	194	806
Balipara	...	294	...	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	454	546
SURMA VALLEY	**6,361**	**227**	**16**	**984**	...	**565**	**123**	**312**	...	**32**	**384**	**584**
Cachar plains	6,216	415	25	975	...	821	...	179	...	22	626	352
Sylhet	7,119	209	14	986	...	475	166	359	...	34	337	629
HILLS	**33,332**	**144**	**92**	**908**	**800**	**172**	...	**28**	...	**14**	**251**	**735**
Garo Hills	...	87	...	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	990
North Cachar	...	81	...	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	72	928
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	17,203	102	71	929	...	1,000	...	...	...	...	65	935
Naga Hills	2,790	344	17	983	...	...	...	1,000	...	...	547	453
Lushai Hills	...	191	...	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	193	807
Manipur State	80,003	231	208	792	1,000	...	...	...	...	45	413	542

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Number per mille of the total population and of each main religion who live in towns.

District and natural division.	Number per mille who live in town.					
	Total population.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Christian.	Jain.	Animist.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ASSAM	32	45	29	41	355	8
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	29	31	40	36	326	2
Goalpara	23	23	15	1	361	1
Kamrup	41	48	35	79	890	2
Darrang	18	18	49	20	213	3
Nowgong	24	29	36	124	162	1
Sibsagar	22	19	134	40	109	2
Lakhimpur	38	35	350	31	289	1
Sadiya	91	156	412	107	857	10
Balipara*	...	...	...	...	...	...
SURMA VALLEY	16	20	12	135	446	7
Cachar plains	25	28	18	118	405	9
Sylhet	14	18	11	150	457	5
HILLS	92	291	87	27	637	7
Garo Hills*	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	71	519	707	86	1,000	30
North Cachar*	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naga Hills	17	289	109	8	541	5
Lushai Hills*	...	...	...	...	...	...
Manipur	208	331	86	6	764	17

* No urban population.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Towns classified by population.

Class of Town.	Number of towns of each class in 1921.	Percentage of total urban population in each class.	Number of females per 1,000 males in towns as classed in 1921.	Increase per cent. in the population of the towns as classed at previous censuses.					Increase per cent. in urban population of each class from 1872 to 1921.	
				1921 to 1911.	1901 to 1911.	1891 to 1901.	1881 to 1901.	1872 to 1881.	(a) In towns as classed in 1872.	(b) In the total of class in 1921 as compared with the corresponding total of 1872.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	*9	*10	11
TOTAL	29	100	753	+12·5	+10·74	+14·1	+9·4	+15·8	+61·6	+330·1
I. 100,000 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
II. 50,000 to 100,000	1	31·0	1,091	+7·2	+3·3	...	...	...	...	+100·0
III. 20,000 to 50,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
IV. 10,000 to 20,000	6	34·3	685	+18·9	+12·8	—0·6	—15·4	—3·9	+15·9	+127·4
V. 5,000 to 10,000	7	17·4	602	+8·5	+13·7	+16·6	+11·9	...	...	+100·0
VI. Under 5,000	15	17·3	573	+24·4	+24·8	+16·4	+35·2	+52·2	+145·9	+110·9

*The percentages in columns 9 and 10 have been worked out on the basis of the adjusted figures shown in Imperial Table IV.

CHAPTER III.

BIRTHPLACE.

Introductory.

51. In Imperial Table XI are set out the statistics of birthplace of all those born outside the province and outside the divisions and districts where they were enumerated. These, with the statistics of emigrants from Assam received from the Census Commissioner and other Provincial Superintendents, have been used in Chapter I in the discussion of the growth of the population. In the present Chapter they will be used in analysis of the volume and character of the different streams of migration. Owing to the importance of the tea industry and the large number of foreigners it brings to Assam, special tables have been prepared to show by sex the extent of literacy, the languages, birthplaces and castes of the tea-garden population: these are Provincial Tables VII, VIII, IX and X, printed in the same volume as the Imperial Tables. A special Provincial Table, IV, has also been made at this census to show the sex, main religions, ages and occupations of the colonists who are now coming in large numbers from certain Eastern Bengal districts to the Assam Valley. The four subsidiary tables appended to this chapter give the chief figures in a more summary form.

Five types of migration are usually distinguished:—

(1) *Casual*, or minor movements between adjacent villages; these affect the returns only when the villages lie on opposite sides of the district boundary. In this, females often predominate owing to young married women going to their parents' houses for confinement or other reasons. All districts show some of this type of migration; Sylhet and Goalpara chiefly as adjoining Bengal.

(2) *Temporary*, due to business journeys or a demand for labour on some new public work. This is a very small item at the present census.

(3) *Periodic*, such as annual harvest-time migrations, and movements of pastoral nomads. In this type there is a preponderance of men; for instance, among the Nepal-born the men are double the number of the women. This type tends to merge into the next, or semi-permanent type of migration; some of the Nepali graziers who come with buffalo herds in the cold weather are taking up land and settling down as cultivators.

(4) *Semi-permanent*, where the natives of one place reside and earn their living in another, but retain connection with their own homes, to which they return in old age and at intervals in the meantime. In this the bulk of the migrants would usually be men, and families would be left at home; *e.g.*, among the Marwari traders in Assam, men outnumber women as 3 to 1. In the greatest migration-stream of Assam, that of tea-garden coolies, this is not so, however; both men and women work on the gardens—women are superior to men in plucking—and therefore males are not greatly in excess of females.

This type tends to become permanent, as in the case of many of the tea coolies who remain on gardens or who settle as cultivators.

(5) *Permanent*, the chief examples of this are the large number of tea-garden coolies, who come to Assam and stay for an assured living in place of conditions often amounting to scarcity or famine in their home districts; and the cultivators who find themselves crowded out or their homes washed away in the Eastern Bengal riparian districts and migrate to enjoy the freedom of the *ryotwari* settlement in the Brahmaputra Valley.

The census statistics do not of course distinguish between these different types, but proportion of the sexes, distance of the home districts and local knowledge give sufficient clues to enable us to place them.

Census question and accuracy.

52. The question asked in the general schedules was "in what district were you born?", and enumerators were instructed to write the name of the province as well as that of the district in the case of those born outside Assam. As I have explained in Chapter I, the census takes no account of those who come and again leave between two censuses; of those who immigrate but die before the census date; and of those who emigrate but are not reported from their new districts or countries.

Many immigrants, especially tea-garden coolies, do not know the names of their home districts or provinces. Every endeavour was made, however, to obtain accurate statistics of birthplace by the enumerators' question and by reference to garden registers, maps, postal guides, etc., by the higher census officials in the districts and in the compilation offices. In the result we have only 452 immigrants returned as born in "Assam unspecified" and 689 in "India unspecified". There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the statistics in the main, as regards Assam districts and names of other provinces; as to actual districts of other provinces, a good many mistakes and omissions have probably occurred.

Migration—general.

53. As shown in Subsidiary Table IV of Chapter I, there were in 1921 in Assam 1,290,157 immigrants, while 75,896 persons born in the province were enumerated elsewhere. On the total population of 7,990,246 this gives a percentage of foreign-born in Assam of 16·1. The corresponding percentages for 1911 and 1901 were 12·5 and 13. On the other hand, the proportion of emigrants to the total Assam-born is only 1·1, against 1·3 in 1911. The statistics reflect clearly the attractions of the province by the tea industry and waste land available for colonization, as well as the home-staying propensity of the natives of Assam.

The statement in the margin shows the constitution per mille of the population according to birthplace, at the last two censuses. The small amount of migration within the province, commented on and explained in the last census report, is brought out again by these figures; in fact, not only the proportional, but the absolute number also of migrants between districts within the province is less than it was in 1911. The great increase in those born in other parts of India represents mainly colonists from Eastern Bengal and new tea-garden labourers. Those born outside India are chiefly men of Nepal—graziers and dairymen, cultivators, and sepoys of the Assam Rifles.

	1921.	1911.
1. BORN IN ASSAM	839	875
(a) In district of enumeration	823	857
(b) In contiguous districts ...	13	15
(c) In other districts ...	3	3
2. BORN IN OTHER PROVINCES	152	118
(a) In contiguous parts ...	10	9
(b) In other parts	142	109
3. BORN OUTSIDE INDIA ...	9	7
Total	1,000	1,000

Extra-provincial immigration; contiguous districts.

54. Subsidiary Table I shows immigrants to the natural divisions and to each district of the province, classified according to distance of birthplace. The contiguous districts of other provinces are represented chiefly in Sylhet and Goalpara.

There are 36,000 immigrants to Sylhet from Tippera and Mymensingh; these appear to be largely casual visitors from across the border, although a certain number have acquired land and settled in the west of the district especially in the Sunamganj subdivision, where they are reported to be more industrious than the local cultivators. For Goalpara, the adjoining Bengal districts are Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar State; some of the 26,000 immigrants from these districts are casual and temporary visitors, but many of them are permanent settlers, as Goalpara is the nearest Assam Valley district with land available for cultivation. In the Hills division, the Garo Hills adjoins Mymensingh and shares in its plains mauzas a small part of the influx from that district. The Lushai Hills and Manipur have gained about 4,000 and 1,000 respectively, from the Chin Hills in Burma. These Chins are said to have come over to escape oppression from the chiefs in their own country. They are industrious cultivators and likely to be beneficial to the sparsely populated Lungleh Subdivision.

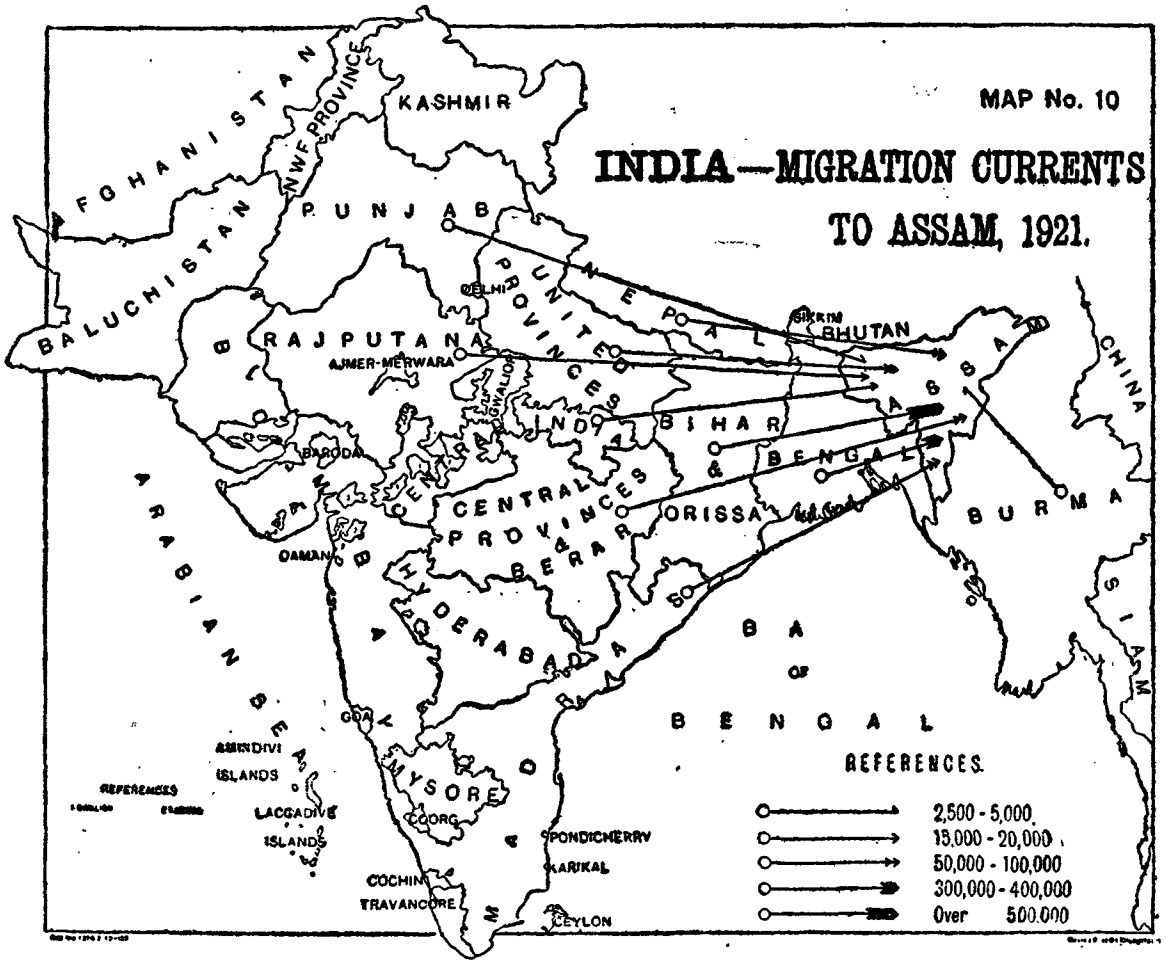
Column 11 of Subdiary Table I shows the large number of 255,000 immigrants from contiguous parts of other provinces. It must be noted that most of these are regular settlers from Mymensingh and not casual immigrants merely crossing the border. Their goal is generally an Assam district some distance away from Mymensingh, and not one of its adjoining districts.

Immigration—non-contiguous parts.

55. The vast majority of immigrants come from non-contiguous places. There is an indeterminate number of periodic visitors, mostly general labourers and earth-workers from Bihar and the United Provinces, and traders from various parts. Most of the permanent and semi-permanent immigrants fall into three great classes, of which I treat in the succeeding paragraphs. These are (1) those connected with tea; (2) Eastern Bengal cultivators; (3) those from beyond India—nearly all Nepalis.

The marginal statement shows the proportions contributed by the principal sources to every thousand immigrants. The map is intended to display graphically the absolute numbers in the streams of migration from outside Assam, emigrants being subtracted from immigrants. The exact statistics, except for those born outside India, will be found in Subsidiary Table IV, Part I. Bihar and Orissa provides more than half a million, and Bengal over a third of million of our immigrants. The subtraction of emigrants make some difference for Bengal but hardly affects other provinces.

Immigrants per mille.	
From—	
Bihar and Orissa	443
Bengal	291
Central Provinces	71
United Provinces	60
Madras	42
Central India Agency	14
Rajputana	12
Burma	6
Punjab	2
Rest of India	2
Outside India	57
(*Nepal*	*55*)
Total ...	1,000



NOTE—The arrows show the net balance, except in the case of Nepal for which only immigrants are known.

Many of the Bihar and Orissa people as well as those from the United Provinces, are railway and steamer coolies, cattlemen, cobblers, domestic servants, carters, petty shopkeepers, hawkers and Nuniya earth-workers, scattered all over the Province; but Provincial Table IX shows that about two-thirds of the total were censused on tea gardens, and many of them also are *ex*-garden coolies settled as cultivators. Of the Bengal immigrants, less than one-thirteenth were censused on tea gardens; the rest are ordinary cultivator colonists in the Assam Valley with a sprinkling of clerks, officials and traders found settled in all districts.

Two-thirds of the Central Provinces and Central India people and five-sixths of those from Madras were found on tea gardens, the remainder probably being *ex*-coolie settlers.

The men of Rajputana are Marwaris, who do a large part of the trade of the province, both wholesale and retail, in tea gardens and outside. Their activities will be mentioned in Chapter XII—Occupations.

The Punjabis are officials, contractors, skilled mechanics and carpenters on the railways and on tea gardens; also motor drivers of the Gauhati-Shillong transport service. Their women number only about one-third of their men. The people of Burma are the Chins mentioned in paragraph 54 above, and though from a contiguous part they are not casual visitors.

Tea gardens—Immigration.

56. About two-thirds of the Assam tea gardens are in the Brahmaputra Valley and the rest in the Surma Valley. The total population censused on tea gardens was 922,245. This includes managers and assistants, other workers, dependants and the stranger within the gates on census night. The number is about 90,000 less than the total given in the Government returns of immigrant labour. The difference is probably due to many coolies having been out visiting neighbouring villages at census time; also to the facts that the labour year does not end in the census month of March but in June, and that the Government returns include coal mines, oil fields and saw-mills.

Lakhimpur (233,000) and Sibsagar (229,000) have the greatest tea-garden populations. Then come Sylhet (169,000), Cachar (138,000), Darrang (123,000), Nowgong (22,000). Kamrup, Goalpara and the two Frontier Tracts have less than 6,000 each.

The recruitment of tea-garden labourers by contractors has been abolished and the *sardari* system is now adopted generally. In this, certain sardars or selected men (and sometimes women) are sent by garden managers to their home districts every year in the recruiting season. These receive advances for expenses and work under the control of the Tea Districts Labour Supply Association; they describe the attractions of tea-garden life and prospects of ultimate settlement on independent holdings in a land where the monsoon never fails, and induce friends, relations and dependants to go to Assam. The usual reasons given for the immigrants' leaving their homes are poverty and scarcity, and want of fertile land; also, desire to join relations already in the tea districts.

There is no doubt they come to more certainty of the means of subsistence than they have in many cases at home, and if industrious, they can generally obtain good land and settle as permanent colonists within a few years of their arrival. How far they obtain a just reward for their labour as coolies, and how far the Contract Act generally in use now (India Act XIII of 1859) gives fair contracts, are subjects which have been under enquiry by a Committee appointed by the Government; they cannot be discussed here, as the Committee's report is not yet published*. Some remarks on the economic state of workers in the tea industry will be found, however, in Chapter XII of the report. District Officers are generally of opinion that new coolies are contented in their new surroundings.

The Labour Supply Association gets a commission, usually Rs. 15 for an adult and Rs. 7-8 for a child, and the sardar also gets a sum for each coolie he brings to the garden. Recruiting of families is preferred by managers, as single men are more liable to run away and thereby cause loss to the gardens of the considerable sums spent in bringing them up. Some remarks on age and sex figures for tea-garden population will be found in Chapters V and VI.

The coolies are conducted in parties by train and river steamer from their home districts by agents of the Labour Supply Association, and suitable arrangements are made for their food and clothing and medical attention *en route*.

The coal mines, oil wells and saw-mills of the Assam Valley generally recruit their labourers by this method also, and from the same districts, though the coal mines employ also a certain number of Chinese, Makranis and Pathans. The number of workers and dependents in these industries is over 10,000; but there are no separate statistics to show their birthplaces. The Badarpur oil-wells and the saw-mills in the Surma Valley depend more on local than imported labour.

In the 1911 report, Mr. McSwiney discussed in some detail the divisions of the major provinces of birth of tea immigrants and the Assam divisions to which they go. The climatic and general conditions are much the same still, however, and it would be useless to repeat the information then given. The actual districts of recruitment are known to those most concerned, *viz.*, the different Governments, the Assam Labour Board, the Labour Supply Association and the planters. It will be more profitable to consider the changes of the last ten years, by comparison of the figures for the provinces as a whole. The number of labourers on tea gardens rose to above a million in 1918-19, when no less than 324,000 new coolies were imported in the two years. The number fell again with the depression in 1920-21.

* Since published : Report of the Assam Labour Enquiry Committee, 1922.

The following statement shows for 1911 and 1921 the number of immigrants in round thousands to Assam as a whole and to the tea gardens only.

Immigration to Assam and its tea gardens (000's omitted.)

Birth place.	1921.		1911.	
	Province of Assam	Tea gardens.	Province of Assam.	Tea gardens.
	2	3	4	5
1. Bihar and Orissa	571	388	399	251
2. Bengal	376	28	194	35
3. Central Provinces and Berar	91	60	77	55
4. United Provinces	77	40	98	53
5. Madras	54	46	35	31
6. Central India Agency	18	12	7	5
7. Rajputana	16	4	12	3
8. Rest of India	14	2	9	2
9. Outside India	73	3	51	6
Total	1,290	583	882	441

NOTE—The figures of Assam Province include those of the tea gardens. Figures for provinces include those of their states.

For tea, we are concerned chiefly with numbers 1 to 6. It will be noticed that, in contrast with the numerous increases from other places, the United Provinces immigrants have decreased both in tea gardens and in the province as a whole, while the Bengal people have decreased in tea gardens, but increased enormously in the province.

The United Provinces decrease is shared by all tea districts; it seems to be due to the bad effect of the Assam climate on the immigrants and the increasing preference of managers for Chota Nagpur, Central Provinces, Orissa and Madras coolies. Enquiries show a general opinion that the so-called "jungly" coolies of the Central Provinces and Chota Nagpur (Mundas, Santals, Gonds, etc.) are the best men for the climate and the work of tea gardens. The United Provinces coolies, it should be noted also, were employed more in the Surma Valley, where the slump of 1920 was most severely felt.

Bengal supplies a number of the clerical and supervising staff, but the loss of about 7,000 natives of Bengal from the gardens represents coolies from Western Bengal districts. This cannot be accounted for except by saying that managers prefer new recruits from Bihar and Orissa and elsewhere.

The figures disclose a greater decrease in the province than in tea gardens for United Provinces people: this may mean a westward trek of general labourers as well as *ex*-coolies on account of better home conditions, or a more accurate assignment of birth districts to their proper provinces.

All other Provinces contribute great increases to the tea gardens, reflecting the boom in the industry in the years previous to 1920. The very large increase from the province of Bihar and Orissa is due mainly to the preference of planters for the men of Chota Nagpur, and it may be hoped, to the appreciation by the coolies themselves of the more steady means of subsistence in Assam. To show the predominance of Chota Nagpuris, I give in the margin in round numbers the details for the 3 parts of the province of Bihar and Orissa, British territory only.

Immigrants to Assam from Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur.

(000's omitted.)

Bihar	139
Orissa	78
Chota Nagpur	318
Total (excluding States)	535

The Bengal increase, which is not due to tea, is dealt with in paragraph 58 below.

The tea industry—colonization.

57. Attempts have been made in the last two census reports to estimate the number of the foreign-born originally brought to the province for the tea gardens and the number of their descendants; or, in fact, the number of people in the province who would not have been here but for tea. The difficulties of this were pointed out by Mr. McSwiney in paragraph 38 of the 1911 report. The problem, with our present data, becomes increasingly complex and liable to error at each succeeding census. If any approach to accuracy is desired at future censuses, it will perhaps be necessary to insert an extra question in the schedule, enquiring if a person's parents or forefathers were originally on a tea garden.

The time-expired coolies who settle in Assam and open up new land are undoubtedly an asset. In the four upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley, where they are found in large numbers, they are reported to be much more industrious than the local Assamese cultivators, and they certainly increase the available food supply.

The annual Immigrant Labour returns of Government give the total number of new coolies imported to tea gardens in the ten years as 769,000, or nearly 77,000 a year. We can calculate the number lost by death, but there is also a column of the returns showing numbers lost by transfer, discharge and desertion, both among new and old coolies. These do not all leave the province, though some go back to their homes—where, it appears, they are not always well received. Some from Cachar and Sylhet have gone across the border into Tripura State, where several new tea gardens have been opened. Many drift into other districts and enter new gardens or work as ordinary labourers, and many settle on the land as permanent colonists. It is these people whose numbers it is hard to calculate, as well as those brought to Assam indirectly by the tea industry. The best method of estimating their numbers seems to be from the extent of land known to be held by them. The annual labour returns for 1920-21 give a total of about 252 thousand acres of Government and other temporarily-settled land held by *ex*-coolies; some is also held in the permanently-settled tracts, but its extent is unknown. If we take 300,000 acres as the total, and reckon 5 acres as supporting six persons, we reach 360,000 as the number of settled cultivating *ex*-coolies and their descendants. To these must be added a number for those indirectly connected with the industry; in 1911 Mr. McSwiney estimated these at about half a million. I think this estimate is too high: it must be remembered that many of the carters, boatmen, earthworkers, house-builders, traders and others connected with tea gardens are men of the province and therefore to be excluded from the calculation. Others, such as Marwari traders, were censused on the tea gardens, and so do not come into the outsiders' list. Taking a lower estimate of 130 or 140 thousand for the indirect class and adding to the settled cultivators, we have a total of half a million living outside the gardens, but whose presence is due to tea immigration. For the immigrants and their descendants actually on tea gardens, I find a total of about 840,000, which is obtained from Provincial Table X (tea-garden population by caste) after subtracting all those of indigenous castes belonging to Assam, as far as they can be determined. In the result I estimate that the total number of foreigners now in the province on account of the tea industry is about a million and a third, that is to say, one-sixth of the whole population of Assam. This is only a rough estimate; and it is more likely to be under than over-estimated. I have attempted to check the number by figures of languages spoken in the districts of origin of tea coolies but the result is worthless, on account of the inaccuracy of language returns for the foreign population by Assamese enumerators and also on account of the large number of Hindi-speaking men who come to Assam independently of tea garden business, and who cannot be separated in the language tables from tea garden Hindi-speakers.

Colonists from Eastern Bengal.

58. The influx of immigrants from Eastern Bengal has formed the subject of questions and unfavourable comment in the Legislative Council by members representing certain Assam Valley constituencies. In Chapter I, I have remarked on this wave of immigration and its bearing on the growth of the population. I propose now to examine it in more detail.

In that classic of Assam, the Census Report of 1891, Mr. (now Sir Edward) Gait wrote—

> It might have been thought that the amount of cultivable land, the fertility of the soil, and the low rents prevailing would have induced some portion at least of the overcrowded cultivators of Bengal to find their way to Assam and take up land there. But this does not appear to be the case. The coolies for tea gardens come to Assam because they are more than usually indigent, and are specially

recruited and brought to the province at the expense of the persons for whom they are to labour. No such inducements exist to bring ryots to Assam to take up land for cultivation and they therefore do not come. A certain number of persons from the neighbouring Bengal districts of Mymensingh, Dacca and Rangpur have crossed the boundary and settled down in Sylhet and Goalpara, but this can scarcely be called immigration. They have only moved a few miles from their original homes, and the accident of boundary alone has brought them within the limits of Assam.

In 1901 a slight falling off in the number of immigrants from Bengal into Goalpara was noted, and Mr. Allen remarked in the census report of that year "the district is a purely agricultural one and there is nothing to attract immigrants."

Before 1911, however, a change came. The men of Mymensingh began to advance to Assam, driven apparently by pressure on the soil at home. They were joined by people of other Eastern Bengal districts, in less numbers. In the Census Report of 1911 comment was made on the extraordinary incourse of settlers to the *char* lands of Goalpara from the Bengal districts of Mymensingh, Pabna, Bogra and Rangpur. At that time few cultivators from Eastern Bengal had got beyond Goalpara, those censused in the other districts of the Brahmaputra Valley numbering only a few thousands and being mostly clerks, traders and professional men.

In the last decade the movement has extended far up the Valley and the colonists now form an appreciable element of the population in all the four lower and central districts. In places they have spread inland away from the river. Mr. Bentinck writes from Kamrup—

> They ..... are most common along the Brahmaputra but have in many instances penetrated far inland: parties in search of land have been found near the Bhutan border.

The sex and age figures given in Provincial Table IV show that the colonists are settling by families and not singly. It is reported however, that the men generally come first to secure the land and build houses, and the families follow. About 5 per cent. are Muhammadans and 15 per cent. Hindus. There is a certain number of Christian and Animist immigrants from Jalpaiguri to Goalpara, but these are chiefly Santals and Meches in the Scandinavian Mission Colony and they have not been entered in the table.

The following statement shows origin and destination of the settlers and their numbers in round thousands.

Immigrants from Eastern Bengal to the Brahmaputra Valley, both sexes, Hindus and Muhammadans only, actual numbers (000's omitted).

District where enumerated.	Born in						
	Total 6, Bengal districts.	Jalpaiguri.	Rangpur.	Pabna.	Bogra.	Dacca.	Mymensingh.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	258	7	16	35	6	21	172
Goalpara	141	7	14	31	3	8	78
Kamrup	42	...	1	3	3	4	30
Darrang	15	...	...	...	...	2	12
Nowgong	55	...	...	...	...	3	52
Sibsagar	2	...	...	...	...	2	...
Lakhimpur	3	...	...	...	...	2	...

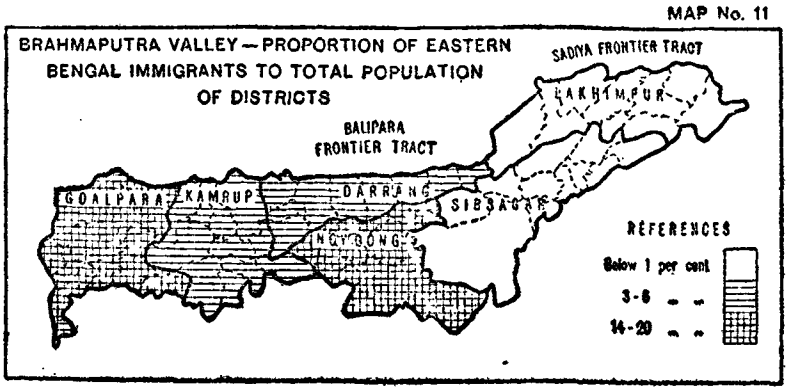
NOTE.—As parts of a thousand under 500 have been omitted and over 500 have been taken as 1, the cross and vertical totals do not all tally exactly.

In 1911 no special table was prepared, but from the general birthplace table we find that Mymensingh, Rangpur and Jalpaiguri provided 51,000 immigrants to Goalpara and 3,000 to the other five Brahmaputra Valley districts. No separate figures are available for Dacca, Pabna and Bogra, as they are not contiguous to Assam; but the numbers were probably not great. It thus appears that the Eastern Bengal settlers have increased more than fourfold in the decade to their present total of 258,000 in the Brahmaputra Valley. There are also some 6,000 people of Mymensingh and Rangpur in the Garo Hills; many of these are in the plains mauzas, which may be reckoned as part of the Valley, though not so taken in our scheme of natural divisions as they form only a sub-unit of a hill district.

If we add the children born after arrival in Assam—and there is a goodly proportion of women aged 15—40 among the immigrants—the total number of settlers in the valley must come to at least 300,000.

The subjoined map shows how the new comers are distributed in the districts.

MAP No. 11



The two upper districts and the frontier tracts are scarcely touched as yet. In Goalpara nearly 20 per cent. of the population is made up of these settlers. The next favourite district is Nowgong, where they form about 14 per cent. of the whole population. In Kamrup waste lands are being taken up rapidly, especially in Barpeta subdivision. In Darrang, exploration and settlement by the colonists is in an earlier stage; they have not yet penetrated far from the Brahmaputra banks.

As shown in the occupation columns of the Provincial Table, only about 30,000 of those born in the named districts of Eastern Bengal are non-agriculturists; they are chiefly traders, shopkeepers, timber merchants, clerks, professional men. The remainder, over 88 per cent. of the total, are ordinary cultivators of holdings generally under Government, with a sprinkling of field labourers. The few censused in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur are nearly all engaged in trade, less than 300 cultivators of the class in question having settled in either district. The reasons given for leaving their home districts in the case of the great mass of the colonists are pressure on the soil, and sometimes actual loss of their lands and even homesteads by diluvion; cheap, plentiful and fertile land, with the freedom of a *ryotwari* settlement in Assam in place of expensive and uncomfortable holdings as tenants or under-tenants in Bengal. On first taking up their new lands they sometimes have them cleared of jungle and dug up by hired Nuniya labourers. This, and their railway or steamer fares, some house-building materials and possibly some land-price paid to local people or unauthorised fees to subordinate revenue officials, constitute their only expenses in opening the new life. They erect their own characteristic type of house, and their villages can be distinguished at once from those of the Assamese.

They are hard working and good cultivators who cannot fail to benefit the country. In Goalpara, Darrang and Nowgong they have produced a great increase in crimes of violence and rioting; in Kamrup some increase, but little in proportion to the numbers. Their character and effect are best described in the words of the Deputy Commissioners of Nowgong and Kamrup. Mr. Higgins writes from Nowgong—

"...They do better cultivation than the local people and as such they are certainly beneficial to the country; since their advent the local people seem to be shaking off their old lethargy and they have created a novel sphere of competition....."

Mr. Bentinck, Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup, says—

"...In industry and skill they are an object lesson to the local cultivators: they have reclaimed and brought under permanent cultivation thousands of acres which the local cultivators had for generations past merely scratched with haphazard and intermittent crops or recognised as exigent of efforts beyond their inclination.

The large undulating expenses of *char* lands to be seen in late March or early April finely harrowed, weeded and newly sown are something to which the spectacle of ordinary Assamese cultivation is quite unaccustomed. They have besides their industry shown examples of new crops and improved methods. They do not at present mix well with the local population: the latter in a great many instances sold the new comers *sarkari* lands at rates highly profitable to the sellers and the discovery of this has left a not unnatural soreness. The local cultivators on the other hand regarded the new comers as savages, whose pernicious habits were only partially redeemed by their ignorance of local land-tenures. Nevertheless collisions between the two communities have been rare, partly because it takes two to make a fight and partly because there was really plenty of room and the new comers wished to be left to themselves.....They are sudden and quick in quarrel, greedy of land and sometimes impatient of control, but with a marked appreciation of fair play, especially a refreshing way of realising that what they deserve is not necessarily conterminous with what they desire....."

Almost every train and steamer brings parties of these settlers and it seems likely that their march will extend further up the valley and away from the river before long; it may be also that colonists will begin to come from the more distant districts of the Dacca and Rajshahi divisions if the good news spreads there.

Immigration of Nepalis.

59. The third considerable stream of immigrants is from beyond India; about 95 per cent. of these come from Nepal. The number censused in Assam and born in Nepal is 70,344 against 47,654 in 1911. It may be noted that the latest estimate of the population of Nepal is 5,600,000. Originally most of the Nepali settlers were retired soldiers of Gurkha regiments and the rest of the immigrants from Nepal were temporary or periodic visitors, buffalo graziers and serving soldiers. Since the last census many have taken up land and become cultivators, either in place of or in addition to grazing buffaloes and selling milk and *ghee*. The reasons reported for their leaving their country are (1) to get better means of livelihood, and (2) to escape compulsory service or labour in Nepal.

Although the number of women is still only about half the number of men, yet the absolute number is greater than in 1911, and many children must have been born in the province in the decade and remained with their parents; some also are born in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and come thence to Assam. The birthplace table of the census therefore understates the number of Nepalis in Assam. We cannot get the true number from the caste and race table, as Nepali, not being a caste name, is excluded, and numbers of the true castes returned fall below 1 per mille of the population and are omitted from Imperial Table XIII. Also, some Nepalis come under the head Brahman but cannot be separated from other Brahmans. We can, however, take language as a fair test in this case, at any rate of the minimum number of Nepalis, because it is scarcely possible that anyone but a native of Nepal or a descendant of such would have returned as his mother-tongue Naipali or one of the other languages of Nepal. The number of speakers of Naipali is nearly 95,000, and of other recorded languages native to Nepal (Gurung, Newari, Limbu, Khambu, Magari and Murmi), about 9,000. The number of Nepali immigrants and their descendants is thus at least 104,000; possibly somewhat greater, as Hindi or Bengali may have been entered in the language column in some cases by Assamese enumerators. At the last census the speakers of the same languages numbered only 55,000. Thus the number of Nepalis in Assam has nearly doubled in the last ten years. Cachar, Lushai Hills and the Garo Hills show slight decreases; all other districts share the increase. The districts most favoured are Darrang (19,000), Goalpara (9,000), Lakhimpur (8,000) and Sadiya (4,000), in all of which they are taking up land in considerable measure. Opinions are divided as to the value of the Nepalese immigrants. It is admitted that they do good by increasing the supply of dairy products. On the other hand Mr. O'Callaghan, Political Officer of the Sadiya Frontier Tract, describes them thus —

> "...undesirable aliens whose immigration is to be discouraged. They hoped to find on the Frontier Tract a land of virgin soil for buffalo-grazing and sugarcane growing—this they found, but not that lack of supervision and control for which they hoped, with the result that the returning ebb of emigration is probably discountenancing the flow of immigration. They increase litigation... .."

Unfortunately no statistics of the emigration ebb referred to are available, but I do not think it is very great. As buffalo-keepers, they must have grazing and if they are disappointed in one Assam district they are likely to try another rather than go back permanently to their own country. Mr. Cosgrave, Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur, writes—

> "It is doubtful whether Nepalese settlers are beneficial to the country on account of their large numbers of buffaloes that frequently cause damage to villagers' crops, and by their wasteful methods of *jhuming* for sugarcane they impoverish the soil after a very short time. On the other hand although the fertility of the soil may have been reduced the Nepalese, by clearing heavy tree jungle for sugarcane, sometimes prepare the land for subsequent cultivation of rice by Assamese. The Assamese also benefit on account of the Nepalese manufacturing *gur* and various products of milk .....crime and litigation have not increased on account of the immigration...The flow of immigration of Nepalese into the Dibrugarh subdivision has now almost stopped, but it is on the increase in the North Lakhimpur subdivision where there is plenty of forest land available."

In the Khasi and Jaintia Hills there are over 5,000 Nepali settlers; many of these are chaprasis, servants and labourers; others follow the same callings as their brethren in the plains districts, keeping buffaloes and cattle or cultivating or acting as sawyers in the forests.

Other immigration from outside India.

60. The others from beyond India are 1,906 from Europe, America and British colonies, and 1,246 from Asiatic countries other than Nepal.

The majority of the former group is engaged in the tea industry; others are officials missionaries and persons engaged in coal mining, oil-fields and other industries. In the Asiatic group are 360 men of Afghanistan, the usual cold weather pedlars; 558 from Bhutan, who are also trading visitors; 243 from China and Hongkong, generally carpenters and employees on tea gardens and coal mines; and a mixed bag of 85 from other countries. Only 13 are recorded as born in Tibet. There is little direct trade through Sadiya, owing to difficulty of the route and intervening tribes of Mishmis, while the Tibetans using the Udalguri-Lhasa route had left Assam before the census date.

61. Emigration from the province is of small moment. The number of emigrants recorded is under 76,000 and is 4,000 less than that of last census. The places of destination are given in Subsidiary Table IV and are summarised in the margin. About 76 per cent. of these were found in contiguous districts. Bengal owes its large proportion to casual and temporary border movements from Sylhet and Goalpara, to a number of students and business men being in Calcutta, and to the new tea gardens started in Tripura State near the southern border of Sylhet. The Burma figures are due partly to ordinary border movements from Manipur and the Lushai Hills, and partly to visits of traders; it is difficult to account for about 300 Muhammadans of Assam, most of them born in Kamrup, censused in the Bassein district. The few hundreds of Assam-born people found in Bihar and Orissa, the United Provinces, Central Provinces and Madras are probably made up of children of repatriated tea-garden coolies, and a few men of the educated classes and traders. The 505 persons returned from the North-West Frontier Province as born in Assam were all males; they represent probably men of a Gurkha battalion and others in miscellaneous posts in military employ; they were counted across the border in military areas and the Census Superintendent was unable to give me particulars of their actual districts of birth. In the Punjab and United Provinces are found a number of Hindus, especially Manipuris, who retire to spend their old age at holy places.

Emigration from Assam.

Total	75,896
(1) To India—	
Bengal	68,802
Burma	3,018
Bihar and Orissa	949
United Provinces	904
Bombay	691
North-West Frontier Province ...	505
Punjab	404
Other Provinces and States ...	613
(2) Outside India	10

Note.—Figures for provinces included those of their states.

The number of emigrants outside India is not known; only 10 have been reported, but the number probably amounts to several thousands, made up of persons in Europe, in Nepal, on steamers and across the frontier in independent territory. The last category, I am informed by Mr. Hutton, is not inconsiderable in the Naga Hills. For instance, a large part of the Sema Naga country is outside British territory and Semas from the Naga Hills district are constantly visiting villages on the opposite side; this must have been partially discounted, however, by the non-synchronous census, which gave the *de jure* population. A goodly number of Sylhet men go to sea as lascars and firemen; in 1911, 524 of these were censused in Colombo harbour, but at this census we have received no returns from ocean-going steamers.

Nearly all the men supplied to the army and to Labour Corps in the War have returned but there are still some Royal Field Artillery and motor transport drivers away on foreign service. We have had no returns of these where they are outside India. Nor has any information of the Assam-born been recieved from Europe. Nepal has no census figures, and we cannot even guess the number of emigrants to Nepal.

Migration within the province.

62. Subsidiary Table III shows those born in one natural division and enumerated in another. The internal movements between divisions are very small. Of 1,040,000 immigrants to the Brahmaputra Valley, only 18,000 came from the other divisions of the province; in the Surma Valley the figures are 5,000 out of 239,000; in the Hills, 13,000 out of 47,000. Those proportions are even less than they were in 1911.

There has been a slight movement of cultivating settlers from the Surma Valley to the Brahmaputra Valley, mainly to Nowgong district. From the hills, parties come down in the cold weather for trade and for contract work, such as jungle-clearing on tea gardens. Small but constant movements are noticeable from the Naga Hills to North Cachar and from the North Cachar Hills to Nowgong; in the former

case the reason is probably the desire to escape Government labour obligations; in the latter, it is alleged that the land in North Cachar has been over-*jhumed*. Many of the hills immigrants from the plains are officials at the headquarters of Government and of districts, as well as traders and contractors.

Summary.

63. Subsidiary Table IV shows the provincial balance of migration for British territory and for Indian States. The balance in favour of Assam is enormous and as I have explained in previous paragraphs, the birthplace statistics, which give a proportion of 16 per cent. of immigrants, do not account for all as they leave out the immigrants' descendants born in the province. A better estimate of the total number of foreigners and their descendants will be obtained by adding the estimates I have made for the three great classes, *i.e*, 1⅓ millions for the tea industry, 300,000 for Eastern Bengal colonists in the Assam Valley and 104,000 for Nepalis. This gives 1,737,000 to which about 100,000 may be added for all other classes, such as casual visitors from Bengal to Sylhet and the Hills, periodic immigrant labourers from Bihar, and the quota from Burma. The total population, foreign and of foreign extraction, is thus estimated to be at least one and five-sixths millions, or about 23 per cent. of the whole population of Assam.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Immigration (actual figures).

District and natural division where enumerated.	Born in (000's omitted).																	
	District (or natural division).			Contiguous district in province.			Other parts of province.			Contiguous parts of other provinces, etc.			Non-contiguous parts of other provinces, etc.			Outside India.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
ASSAM	*6,700*	*3,429*	*3,271*	...	...	...	...	...	...	*255*	*139*	*116*	*961*	*532*	*429*	*74*	*49*	*25*
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.	*2,816*	*1,452*	*1,364*	*10*	*6*	*4*	*8*	*6*	*2*	*28*	*16*	*12*	*934*	*519*	*415*	*60*	*39*	*21*
Goalpara ...	550	281	269	5	3	2	1	1	...	26	15	11	171	101	70	9	6	3
Kamrup ...	681	346	335	5	3	2	2	1	1	...	...	...	66	41	25	9	6	3
Darrang ...	284	146	138	11	7	4	2	1	1	...	...	...	161	87	74	19	11	8
Nowgong ...	296	149	147	8	5	3	2	1	1	...	...	...	88	51	37	3	2	1
Sibsagar ...	595	311	284	9	5	4	4	3	1	...	...	...	210	111	99	5	3	2
Lakhimpur ...	329	171	158	14	8	6	4	3	1	...	...	...	232	125	107	9	6	3
Sadiya ...	26	13	13	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	7	4	3	4	3	1
Balipara* ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	1	...
SURMA VALLEY ...	*2,830*	*1,457*	*1,373*	*4*	*2*	*2*	*1*	*1*	...	*38*	*19*	*19*	*194*	*104*	*90*	*2*	*2*	...
Cachar (including North Cachar)...	437	224	213	24	16	8	1	1	...	...	...	...	65	35	30	1	1	...
Sylhet ...	2,367	1,216	1,151	6	3	3	1	1	...	37	18	19	130	70	60	1	1	...
HILLS	*1,019*	*498*	*521*	*12*	*7*	*5*	...	...	...	*14*	*7*	*7*	*9*	*7*	*2*	*11*	*8*	*3*
Garo Hills ...	166	84	82	5	3	2	...	...	...	6	3	3	1	1	...	1	1	...
North Cachar Hills	Separate figures not available.																	
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	230	111	119	4	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	2	1	6	4	2
Naga Hills ...	154	76	78	3	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	3	2	1	1	1	...
Lushai Hills ...	87	40	47	2	1	1	...	...	...	7	3	4	1	1	...	1	1	...
Manipur ...	376	183	193	4	2	2	1	1	...	2	1	1	1	1	...	2	1	1

* In Balipara the number of females under each class and that of persons in column 5 are less than 500.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Emigration (actual figures).

District and natural divison of birth.	Enumerated in (000's omitted).																	
	District (or natural division).			Contiguous district in province.			Other parts of province.			Contiguous parts of other provinces, etc.			Non-contiguous parts of other provinces, etc.			Outside India.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
ASSAM	*6,700*	*3,429*	*3,271*	...	...	...	...	...	...	*59*	*31*	*28*	*17*	*13*	*4*	...	...	...
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.	*2,816*	*1,452*	*1,364*	*7*	*4*	*3*	*1*	*1*	...	*6*	*4*	*2*	*4*	*3*	*1*	...	...	...
Goalpara ...	550	281	269	7	4	3	2	2	...	4	2	2	1	1	...	...	...	...
Kamrup ...	681	346	335	10	7	3	4	3	1	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
Darrang ...	284	146	138	3	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
Nowgong ...	296	149	147	9	5	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sibsagar ...	595	311	284	17	10	7	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lakhimpur ...	329	171	158	7	4	3	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sadiya ...	26	13	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Balipara ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
SURMA VALLEY ...	*2,830*	*1,457*	*1,373*	*10*	*6*	*4*	*5*	*4*	*1*	*50*	*26*	*24*	*6*	*5*	*1*	...	...	...
Cachar (including North Cachar).	437	224	213	11	6	5	1	1	...	...	...	...	2	1	1	...	...	...
Sylhet	2,367	1,216	1,151	23	16	7	6	5	1	49	26	23	6	5	1	...	...	...
HILLS	*1,019*	*498*	*521*	*11*	*6*	*5*	*1*	*1*	...	*2*	*1*	*1*	*3*	*2*	*1*	...	...	...
Garo Hills ...	166	84	82	3	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
North Cachar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	230	111	119	4	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Naga Hills ...	154	76	78	2	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lushai Hills ...	87	40	47	2	1	1	...	...	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Manipur State ...	376	183	193	3	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	3	2	1	...	...	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Migration between natural divisions (actual figures) compared with 1911.

Natural division in which born.		Number enumerated (000's omitted) in natural divisions.			
		Brahmaputra Valley.	Surma Valley.	Hills.	Total.
1		2	3	4	5
Total	1921 ...	1,040	239	47	...
	1911 ...	632	246	37	...
Brahmaputra Valley ...	1921 ...	...	1	7	8
	1911 ...	...	1	8	9
Surma Valley	1921 ...	9	...	6	15
	1911 ...	3	...	5	8
Hills	1921 ...	8	4	...	12
	1911 ...	12	3	...	15
Assam unspecified and tribal areas beyond the inner line.	1921 ...	1	...	...	1
	1911 ...	...	...	...	...
Outside the Province ...	1921 ...	1,022	234	34	1,290
	1911 ...	617	241	24	882

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Migration between the Province, including Manipur, and other parts of India.

PART I.

Province or State.	Immigrants to Assam.			Emigrants from Assam.			Excess (+) or deficiency (—) of immigration over emigration.	
	1921.	1911.	Variation.	1921.	1911.	Variation.	1921.	1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
TOTAL	1,216,661	831,118	+385,543	75,886	79,193	—3,307	+1,140,775	+751,925
A—BRITISH TERRITORY	1,130,074	797,219	+332,855	35,251	48,080	—12,829	+1,094,823	+749,139
Ajmer-Merwara	32	46	—14	7	...	+7	+25	+46
Andamans and Nicobars ...	1	6	—5	147	140	+7	—146	—134
Baluchistan (Districts and Administered Territories) ...	187	190	—3	22	10	+12	+165	+180
Bengal	373,873	191,912	+181.961	28,557	36,490	—7,933	+345,316	+155,422
Bihar and Orissa	535,565	393,201	+142,364	887	6,335	—5,448	+534,678	+386,866
Bombay (including Aden) ...	1,105	853	+252	678	142	+536	+427	+711
Burma	7,413	2,299	+5,114	3,018	3,242	—224	+4,395	—943
Central Provinces and Berar...	77,082	72,491	+4,591	104	186	—82	+76,978	+72,305
Coorg	14	2	+12	...	...	...	+14	+2
Delhi	97	...	+97	92	...	+92	+5	...
Madras	54,527	34,507	+20,020	51	204	—153	+54,476	+34,303
North-West Frontier Province (Districts and Administered Territories)	295	91	+204	505	20	+485	—210	+71
Punjab	2,901	3,306	—405	386	147	+239	+2,515	+3,159
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	76,982	98,315	—21,333	797	1,164	—367	+76,185	+97,151
B—INDIAN STATES ...	85,841	33,788	+52,053	40,635	31,113	+9,522	+45,206	+2,675
Baluchistan (Agency Tracts)...	1	17	—16	...	...	...	+1	+17
Baroda	125	...	+125	2	...	+2	+123	...
Bengal States	1,705	1,963	—258	40,245	30,820	+9,425	—38,540	—28,857
Bihar and Orissa States ...	35,077	6,166	+28,911	62	27	+35	+35,015	+6,139
Bombay States	71	1,710	—1,639	13	1	+12	+58	+1,709
Central India Agency ...	17,602	7,104	+10,498	56	8	+48	+17,546	+7,096
Central Provinces States ...	14,311	4,530	+9,781	22	5	+17	+14,289	+4,525
Gwalior	332	...	+332	25	...	+25	+307	...
Hyderabad	160	119	+41	5	5	...	+155	+114
Kashmir	46	19	+27	2	...	+2	+44	+19
Madras States (including Cochin and Travancore) ...	19	23	—4	14	...	+14	+5	+23
Mysore	234	141	+93	18	48	—30	+216	+93
North-West Frontier Province (Agency and Tribal areas)...	23	18	+5	...	1	—1	+23	+17
Punjab States	277	189	+88	18	28	—10	+259	+161
Rajputana Agency ...	15,770	11,620	+4,150	46	111	—65	+15,724	+11,509
Sikkim	22	52	—30	...	1	—1	+22	+51
United Provinces States ...	66	117	—51	107	58	+49	—41	+59
INDIA UNSPECIFIED ...	689	75	+614	...	...	...	+689	+75
FRENCH AND PORTUGESE SETTLEMENTS...	57	36	+21	...	...	...	+57	+36

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Migration between the Assam British Territory and other parts of India.

PART—II.

Province or State.	Immigrants to Assam British Territory.			Emigrants from Assam British Territory.			Excess (+) or deficiency (—) of immigration over emigration.	
	1921.	1911.	Variation.	1921.	1911.	Variation.	1921.	1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
TOTAL	1,218,933	832,640	+386,293	72,913	81,272	—8,359	+1,146,020	+751,368
A—BRITISH TERRITORY	1,127,812	795,387	+332,425	28,518	45,496	—16,978	+1,099,294	+749,891
Ajmer-Merwara ...	30	46	—16	7	...	+7	+23	...
Andamans and Nicobars	1	6	—5	113	110	+3	—112	—104
Baluchistan (Districts and Administered Territories).	187	190	—3	12	10	+2	+175	+180
Bengal	373,504	191 612	+181,892	26,283	36,376	—10,093	+ 347,221	+155,236
Bihar and Orissa ...	535,127	392,698	+132,429	605	6,308	— 5,698	+534,522	+386,395
Bombay (including Aden)	1,105	841	+264	284	108	+176	+921	+733
Burma	6,315	2,251	+4,064	807	1,124	—317	+5,508	+1,127
Central Provinces and Berar.	77,064	72,471	+4,593	12	146	—134	+77,052	+72,325
Coorg	14	2	+12	...	...	...	+14	...
Delhi	96	...	+96	4	...	+4	+92	...
Madras	54,525	34,497	+20,028	...	204	—204	+ 54,525	+34,298
North-West Frontier Province (Districts and Administered Territories).	291	86	+205	...	10	—10	+291	+76
Punjab	2,823	2,859	—36	1	117	—116	+2,822	+2,742
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh..	76,730	97,828	—21,098	390	988	—598	+76,340	+96,840
B—INDIAN STATES ...	85,622	33583	+52,039	40,278	31,000	+9,278	+45,344	+2,583
Baluchistan (Agency Tracts).	1	17	—16	...	...	...	+1	...
Baroda	125	...	+125	...	...	...	+125	...
Bengal States ...	1,702	1,963	—261	40,047	30,713	+ 9,334	—38,345	—28,750
Bihar and Orissa States ...	35,077	6,166	+28,911	27	27	...	+35,050	+6,139
Bombay States ...	71	1,703	—1,632	...	...	...	+71	...
Central India Agency ...	17,602	7,102	+10,500	51	8	+43	+17,551	+7,094
Central Provinces States...	14,307	4,530	+9,777	2	5	—3	+14,305	+ 4,525
Gwalior	332	...	+332	...	...	...	+332	...
Hyderabad	160	119	+41	...	5	—5	+160	+114
Kashmir	44	18	+26	...	...	...	+44	...
Madras States (including Cochin and Travancore).	19	23	—4	14	...	+14	+5	...
Mysore	232	140	+92	...	48	—48	+232	+92
North-West Frontier Province (Agency and Tribal areas).	23	18	+5	...	1	—1	+23	+17
Punjab States ...	265	114	+151	...	27	—27	+265	+87
Rajputana Agency ...	15,574	11,505	+4,069	31	108	—77	+15,543	+11,397
Sikkim	22	49	—27	...	...	...	+22	...
United Provinces States...	66	116	—50	106	58	+48	—40	+58
INDIA UNSPECIFIED ...	689	75	+614	...	...	...	+689	...
FRENCH AND PORTUGESE SETTLEMENTS.	57	36	+21	...	...	...	+57	...
C—ASSAM STATES— Manipur	4,753	3,559	+1,194	4,117	4,776	—659	+636	+1,217

N.B.—In columns 5-6 figures for those who returned their birthplace as "Assam unspecified" have been omitted.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Migration between Assam State (Manipur) and other parts of India.

PART—III.

Province or State.	Immigrants to Assam States (Manipur).			Emigrants from Assam States (Manipur).			Excess (+) or deficiency (—) of immigration over emigration.	
	1921.	1911.	Variation.	1921.	1911.	Variation.	1921.	1911.
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
TOTAL	6,598	6,813	—215	7,434	6,256	+1,178	—836	+557
A—BRITISH TERRITORY	2,262	1,832	+430	2,473	2,584	—111	—211	—752
Ajmer-Merwara ...	2	...	+2	...	...	...	+2	...
Andamans and Nicobars ...	...	...	...	...	30	—30	...	...
Baluchistan (Districts and Administered Territories).	...	...	...	8	...	+8	—8	...
Bengal	369	300	+69	338	114	+224	+31	+186
Bihar and Orissa ...	438	503	—65	55	32	+23	+383	+471
Bombay (including Aden) ..	...	12	—12	61	34	+27	—61	—22
Burma	1,098	48	+1,050	1,505	2,118	—613	—407	—2,070
Central Provinces and Berar	18	20	—2	12	40	—28	+6	—20
Coorg	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Delhi	1	...	+1	...	...	...	+1	...
Madras	2	10	—8	...	...	...	+2	...
North-West Frontier Province (Districts and Administered Territories).	4	5	—1	...	10	—10	+4	—5
Punjab	78	447	—369	302	30	+272	—224	+417
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	252	487	—235	192	176	+16	+60	+311
B—INDIAN STATES ...	219	205	+14	208	113	+95	+11	+92
Baluchistan (Agency Tracts)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Baroda ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bengal States	3	...	+3	197	107	+90	—194	...
Bihar and Orissa States ...	...	...	...	2	...	+2	—2	...
Bombay States... ...	...	7	—7	...	1	—1	...	+6
Central India Agency ...	...	2	—2	...	...	...	...	...
Central Provinces States ...	4	...	+4	1	...	+1	+3	...
Gwalior	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hyderabad	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kashmir	2	1	+1	...	...	...	+2	...
Madras States (including Travancore and Cochin)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mysore	...	1	—1	...	...	...	...	...
North-West Frontier (Agency and Tribal areas).	2	...	+2	...	...	...	+2	...
Punjab States	12	75	—63	...	1	—1	+12	+74
Rajputana	196	115	+81	8	3	+5	+188	+112
Sikkim	...	3	—3	...	1	—1	...	+2
United Provinces States ...	...	1	—1	...	...	...	...	...
INDIA UNSPECIFIED ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
FRENCH AND PORTUGESE SETTLEMENTS.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
C—ASSAM, BRITISH TERRITORY.	4,117	4,776	—659	4,753	3,559	+1,194	—636	+1,217

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION.

Scope and accuracy of statistics.

64. In previous census reports discussions on certain aspects of various religions and interesting descriptions of their ceremonies and customs have found a place. For instance in 1911 attempts were made to re-define and describe Hinduism and Animism, and a note on the chronology of Sankar Deb and Chaitanya was given. In the present report these points cannot be gone into: it is considered that enough literature on the subjects exists already and that we must now be limited closely to the statistics and their meaning, with discussion only of the factors that have influenced variations and of new matter brought to light in the last ten years. The chief Census information is contained in Imperial Table VI, which gives figures by sex and district for all the chief religions. Imperial Table V shows religion in towns and Table XV shows Christians by sect and race. Sects of Hindus were not recorded at this Census or in 1911. Interesting accounts of the historical and doctrinal differences of the Saktists and Vaishnavas and of the subsects of the latter in Assam will be found in the Provincial Census reports of 1891 and 1901. Arrangements were made to ascertain the sects of Jains and also the number of Shias among Muhammadans. Some confusion arose owing to the Brahma sect in Goalpara being entered at first as Brahmo. This form of Vedic Hinduism, to which many of the Meches have turned, was noted on in the 1911 report, page 37. The mistake was discovered and rectified in time. Generally the answer given by each person to the question "what is your religion?" was accepted and entered in the census schedule and no attempt was made to alter the returns. In case of the Animist-Hindu and Animist-Christian border lines some difficulties and doubts have arisen, to which I shall advert in the discussion of each separate religion. In all other cases the statistics may be considered accurate.

The four Subsidiary tables of this chapter show (I) the general distribution and growth of each religion at the last five censuses; (II) distribution by districts of 10,000 of each main religion; (III) variation in number of Christians by districts at five censuses; and (IV) religions per 10,000 of urban and rural populations respectively. The statement in the margin gives the number of adherents of each religion. *Hindus are in absolute majority over all other religions, forming more than half the population of the province. Muhammadans are over a quarter, and Animists somewhat less than one-sixth; all other religions together make less than one-fiftieth of the provincial total.* As at last census, Hindus predominate in the Brahmaputra Valley, Muhammadans in the Surma Valley and Animists in the Hills division.

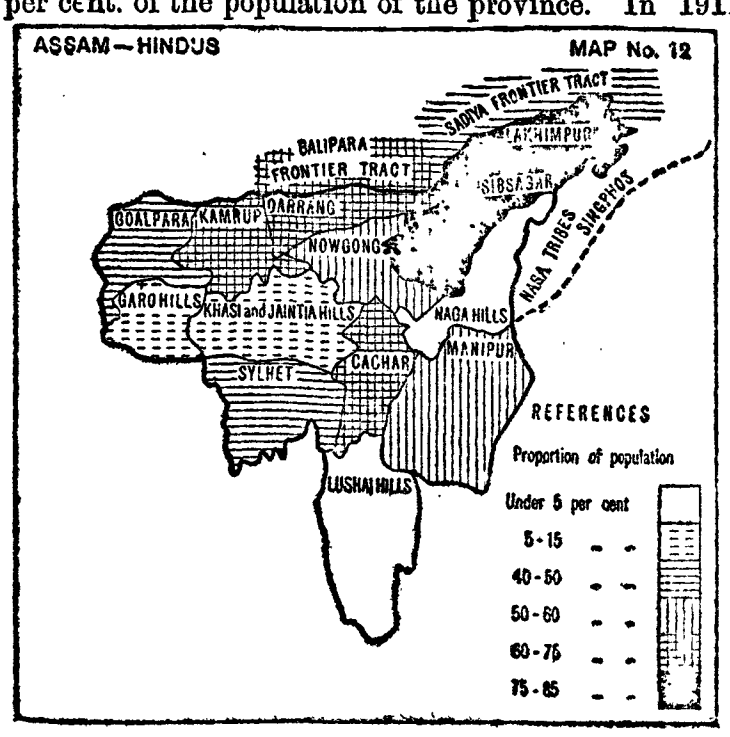
Religions.	Assam.
Hindu	4,362,571
Musalman	2,219,947
Animist	1,256,641
Christian	132,106
Buddhist	13,520
Jain	3,503
Sikh	*1,009*
Brahmo	*559*
Miscellaneous	*390*
Total ...	*7,990,246*

Hindus.

65. Accretion to the ranks of the Hindus from the aboriginal tribes has continued steadily, but by no means evenly in all districts. In the cases of some plains Kacharis of the Brahmaputra Valley and hill Kacharis of North Cachar difficulties were reported about orthodox Hindu enumerators being disinclined to write the whilom Animists as Hindus. A section of the Nowgong Kacharis were so eager to be considered as regular Hindus that they asked to be entered as Saktas in the caste column as well as Hindu by religion. Some North Cachar people sent in petitions that they were being entered as Animists, although they made annual offerings to an image of *Kali* and thereby rendered themselves Hindus. In both cases orders were given to enter them as Hindus if they stated that they were so. In other cases it was suggested that certain people should be entered as Hindu simply because they held land under and paid rent to a Gossain. I cannot be certain that the enumerators obeyed in all cases, especially where their views might be supported by their supervisors. Generally I think they did; the figures prove this by showing a considerable increase of Hindus in North Cachar, where there was a slight decrease in the whole population. In any case the border line is so vague and primitive practices so often continue side by side with Hindu ceremonies (and contributions) that some want of uniformity by the enumerating staff was inevitable.

The Hindus of the province are made up of the same elements as at previous census :—(1) the indigenous regular Hindu population and old converts, with their descendants, (2) new converts from Animism, and (3) immigrants—chiefly tea garden coolies. The first class includes all usually known as Hindus, from Brahmans to Chamars and Mehtars. Although there has been a good deal of discussion, largely in connection with recent political movements, about the levelling up of lower castes and brotherhood of all from the religious and human standpoints, it appears to be still in the domain of talk and not of practice. For instance, one district officer invited a young high-caste official of the local branch of the National Congress to bring five Hindus and five Muhammadans of the *bhadralok* class to dine at his (the Deputy Commissioner's) expense with five municipal sweepers. He was met with a *non-possumus*. Asked how this could be regarded as progress towards one of the avowed goals of his party, the leader replied "We cannot dine together thus yet, but we can contemplate it. A short time ago I could not even think of such a thing." There is no doubt that educated Hindu opinion has broadened in the decade; I have received notes from several correspondents on this. The majority consider that the influence of Brahmans is waning (but this is not the case in Manipur). The rigidity of several religious rules and customs is being relaxed gradually. It is impossible to mention all these, such as entry of cooksheds, touching of the *hukka*, polluting by touch of certain castes, and penance after travel to foreign countries. One instance cited by an Assamese gentleman may be given: he writes that Chutiyas and high class Ahoms, who were formerly not allowed to do so, are nowadays being gradually permitted to enter the cooksheds of some clean caste Hindus excepting Brahmans. Enquiry has also shown that the inclusion of Ahoms in the list of castes not served by good Brahmans as family priests (page 40, Assam Census report of 1911) was not justified fully by the facts.

This broadening of view and decline of Brahman influence is ascribed to modern education, to Brahmans adopting secular occupations, and to influence of foreign service conditions on those who went to the war. Such an experienced observer as Rai Bahadur Aghor Nath Adhikari of Silchar says bluntly "nowadays the leaders are freethinkers." It is of course most noticeable in the towns and appears rather in the attitude of Hindus of higher castes towards heterodox customs among themselves (*e.g.*, going to foreign countries, or eating forbidden things) than in any increased brotherhood towards the so-called lower castes. Social and political movements have certainly made more serious attempts to improve the status of castes regarded as untouchable, but much of this has been verbal, and it is noteworthy that Hindu and aboriginal recruits to recent advanced political views had generally to be obtained by promises of material benefit; where these were absent, the number of Hindus of the uneducated classes in the movement was very small. Many of those generally regarded as lower castes have concentrated their efforts at improvement in social status on the caste column at the census, getting a different, and what they considered a better, entry; to this end also they have tended towards more orthodoxy in religious matters, considering that non-orthodox will be regarded as uncivilised practices. Hindus form 54·6 per cent. of the population of the province. In 1911 the proportion was 54·4. For historical reasons, described in the last census report, they are most numerous in the Brahmaputra Valley, with nearly 69 per cent.; in the Surma Valley they form 46·6 and in the Hills only 23·7 of the whole population. Sibsagar and Lakhimpur have the highest proportions, both for historical reasons and because these two districts are as yet almost untouched by the Muhammadan incursion from Eastern Bengal. The increase in the ten years in the Hindu population of Assam is nearly 524,000, or 13·6 per cent., a rate slightly higher than the provincial increase, 13·2 per cent. In the Brahmaputra Valley and the Hills the propor-



tionate increases are higher than the natural increases for the general population while the Surma Valley shows a Hindu increase of only 1·1 against a natural growth of 4 per cent. among all religions combined.

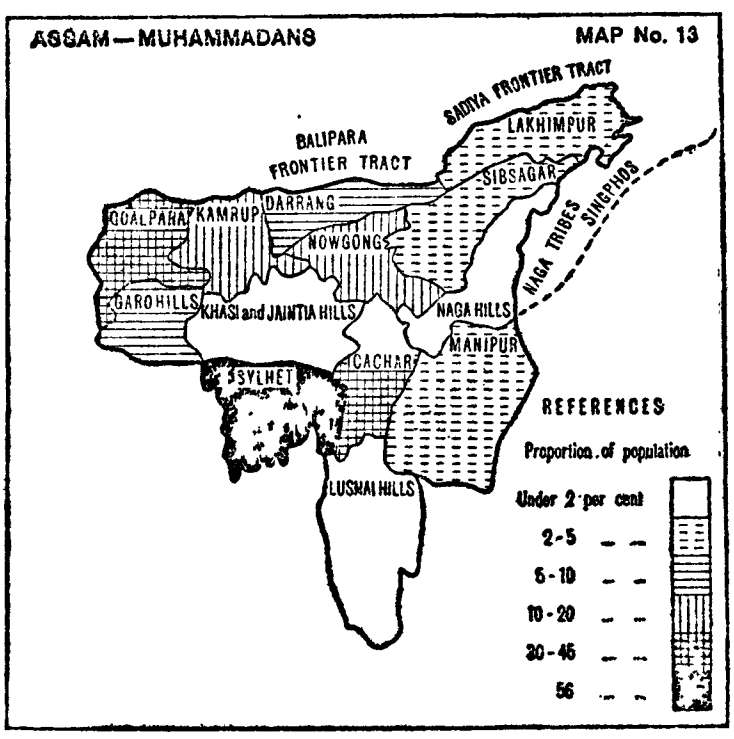
In the Brahmaputra Valley natural increase, importation of Hindu coolies to tea gardens and conversion of Animists all contribute to the increase, which appears in all districts. In Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong large increases of Hindus correspond with decreases among the Animists; the new converts are chiefly plains Kacharis, Mikirs and Miris.

The increase of Hindus in the Hills division is due largely to natural growth of the Manipuris. In this division, Christianity is the chief proselytising religion. Except in the North Cachar Hills and among the hill tribes of Manipur when they have moved into the valley division of the State, Hinduism has made no headway against Animism. In the Lushai Hills there is but a slight increase; the Garo Hills show a decrease of about 2,000; an increase of 2,000 Hindus in the Naga Hills comes from transfer of the Dimapur area from Sibsagar district; and the 4,000 increase in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is attributable to Nepalese Hindu immigrants and to increase of officials and traders at Shillong. North Cachar Hindus have increased by 4,000 and now form 70 per cent. of the population of the subdivision; this number with an increase of Christians, corresponds with the drop in the number of Animists, *i.e.*, among the hill Kacharis.

For the Surma Valley low percentage of increase, Sylhet is responsible, that district having only 800 more Hindus than in 1911; the general low rate of growth in Sylhet, described in Chapter I, combined with the depression in tea and consequent decrease of garden coolies, account for this. Child marriage is not common, but widowhood forms an appreciable factor when we compare the Hindu rate of increase with that among Muhammadans: the latter probably gain in vitality by a more generous diet and in vital statistics by widow remarriage, and to a less extent by plurality of wives. Unfortunately, our vital statistics cannot be used in any conclusions on comparative rates of increase of the different religions, for they give only death-rates by separate religions, while the recorded birth-rate is for all combined. Cachar plains, though also affected by the tea slump, has an increase of 14,000 Hindus, or nearly 5 per cent.

Muhammadans.

66. Muhammadans have increased in every district of the province except the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, the total increase for Assam being nearly 320,000, or 16·8 per cent. of the 1911 total. They still form over half the population in the Surma Valley, where they have grown by 5·5 per cent. in spite of the adverse conditions and without being reinforced by immigration. In Sylhet the increase is 69,000 or over 5 per cent. while the net district increase for all religions is only 2·7 per cent. I have pointed out in the previous paragraph the advantages they have over Hindus in certain respects. In Sylhet, in every year of the decade except 1911, and especially in the influenza years, the Muhammadan recorded death-rate was much higher than that of the Hindus. There is no obvious reason for this, but it seems that the Muhammadan advantage over Hindus in the birth part of the statistics must have been substantial, to account for the comparative variation in numbers of the two communities. In the Brahmaputra Valley the majority of the Eastern Bengal immigrants are Muhammadans; the result is reflected in the enormous growth of 65 per cent. over the 1911 Muhammadan population there. The followers of Islam now form over one-seventh of the Valley population, against one-ninth in 1911. In the Hills Muhammadans are few; there is a growth small in numbers (4,400) but amounting to 17 per cent. of the last census total. This increase is due to natural growth of the Manipuri Musalmans and in less degree to influx of Eastern Bengal settlers into the Garo Hills plains mauzas.



In the last census report it was pointed out that most of the Surma Valley Musalmans are descendants of local converts dating from the Muhammadan invasion of the 14th century, while the Assam Valley Musalmans are descendants of the survivors of invading armies, and also recent immigrants from East Bengal. New conversions to Muhammadanism are rare. The Maulvis prefer rather to expound the scriptures to the Faithful than to attract infidels. In the few cases that do occur, the new Muslim converts are not placed under any religious or social disabilities. Social customs have not changed enough to influence the statistics in any way.

In 1901 sects of Muhammadans were recorded; the vast majority were found to be Sunnis. In 1911 sects were not entered. As the question of the number of Shias was raised in Parliament in 1920, it was decided by the Local Government to have the sect recorded at the 1921 census for Shias only. Practically all the Muhammadans of Assam are Sunnis. The number of Shias returned in the province was only 434. In 1901, when sects were last recorded, Shias numbered 2,721.

Animists:

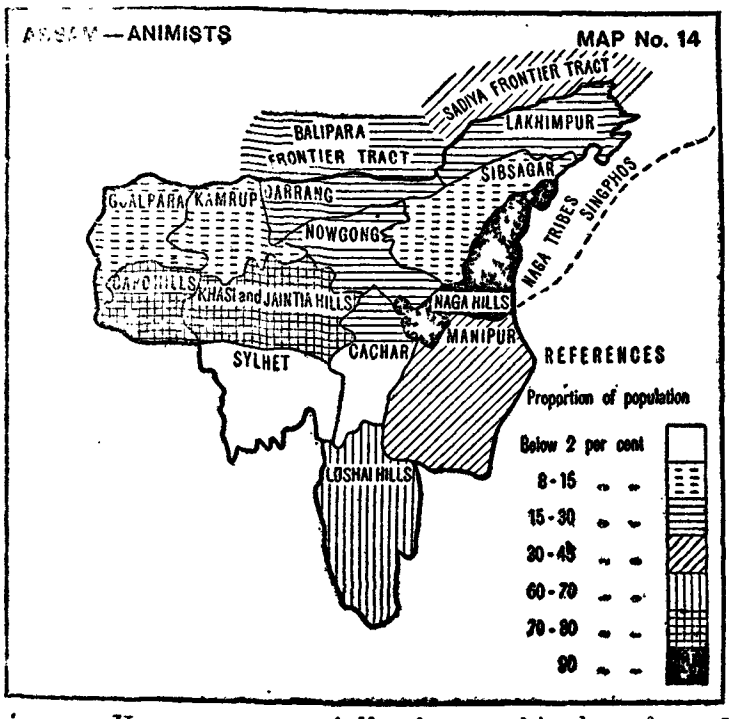
67. The beliefs known as Animistic were described in the last Census report. Briefly, the word is used as a general term for the religions of all primitive tribes; the census instruction was "where a person has no recognised religion such as Christian, Hindu, Muhammadan, etc., his tribe should be entered. This will generally be the case with Santals, Garos, Lushais, Mikirs, Kacharis, etc."

At the last Census the Animists had increased by as much as 16 per cent. of their 1901 total, that is to say, more rapidly than the general population. This result was ascribed by Mr. McSwiney partly to immigration and partly to greater accuracy in recording religions. At this census the rate has dropped to 1·4 per cent. The absolute increase is only 17,361 and this is more than accounted for by immigration and by areas newly censused in frontier districts. The immigrants are, on tea gardens an increase of 45,000 Santals, Mundas, Oraons, Gonds and others, and in the Lushai Hills about 4,000 Chins from Burma. New tracts give about 23,000 Konyaks, Abors and Mishmis.

Leaving out the 72,000 thus accounted for there is a substantial decrease of Animists. The reasons are (1) conversion to Hinduism; (2) conversion to Christianity; (3) the influenza epidemic. Of (1) I have remarked in paragraph 65 above. Absorption of members of aboriginal tribes in the Hindu fold has gone on in the well-known manner in the plains, in Manipur and in the North Cachar Hills. The marginal statement (taken from Imperial Table XIII) gives some idea of the results in a few tribes. It is only an approximation, since variations in accuracy of the return of religion at the two censuses cannot be ruled out in these cases; further, it does not show those new converts who have adopted Hindu caste names in place of their tribal names. The advance of Christianity will be discussed in the next paragraph; a drop of 19,000 in the number of Animists in the Lushai Hills is the most striking point under this head. The third reason, influenza, is exemplified in the Naga Hills and the Jowai subdivision of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. In the Naga Hills, if we exclude the new area added, the general population shows a very small increase: the old animists have not grown in number, but have lost both by influenza and by conversions to Christianity. In Jowai, where the population is nearly 80 per cent. animistic, there was a general drop of 6·7 per cent. owing to influenza and other bad conditions of the decade.

Tribe.	1921.		1911.	
	Hindu.	Animist.	Hindu.	Animist.
Chutiya ...	95,987	22	86,328	2,497
Garo ...	3,422	158,493	505	143,845
Kachari ...	71,192	136,074	60,235	169,867
Lalung ...	3,354	37,679	496	38,723
Mikir ...	10,977	100,652	736	104,341
Miri ...	45,424	23,301	13,460	44,332

The number of Animists per 10,000 of the population is now only 1,573, against 1,755 in 1911. In all divisions there has been a fall in the comparative number, owing to the large gains by the other religions. In the Brahmaputra Valley only is there an actual increase (24,000). Lakhimpur and Sibsagar have gained owing to increased immigration of aboriginal tribesmen from Chota Nagpur and other parts to the tea gardens. Goalpara has gained by influx of Santal and Mech settlers into the Eastern Duars, and probably also by natural growth among the Animists as among the general population. Sadiya Frontier Tract shows a considerable proportion owing to census of new areas containing Singpho, Abor and Mishmi villages. The other three districts, Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong, have large indigenous Animist populations of Kacharis, Rabhas, Mikirs and Lalungs, as well as garden coolies from other parts of India. They have all lost by conversions to Hinduism; Kamrup especially shows a big drop from 140,000 to 102,000 Animists.



The Surma Valley Animists are few; the number has declined by 700 to 14,879.

The Hills division, where Animists predominate, shows a drop of nearly 6,000 but still has 679,000. The Lushai Hills is responsible for a heavy decrease and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills for less, the Animist loss being Christian gain. In North Cachar, Animists are fewer by about 5,000 - most of these have gone over to Hinduism. The other hill districts show increases.

Christains.

68. The increase of Christians is remarkable. The progressive decennial increases since 1881 are shown in Subsidiary Table III. The number in the province has almost doubled in the last ten years and represents now over 1·6 of the whole population. The percentage of increase in the Brahmaputra Valley is 82, in the Surma Valley it is 28, and in the Hills 111. The community is strongest in the Hills, where the Missions have been most active, and where Hinduism has generally not penetrated much.

In the Hills as a whole there are now 824 Christians in every 10,000 of the population, against 423 at the last census. In the Khasi and Jaintia Hills a sixth and in the Lushai Hills over one-fourth of the population are now Christians. In the Khasi Hills, where the movement is oldest, the increase has been only 31·6 per cent. possibly owing to curtailment of staff and work in war time by the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, the principal body working. The spread of Christianity in the Lushai Hills is phenomenal. There has been a sort of revivalist wave over the whole Lushai population. The district has been described as a mass-movement area: the movement is due to the Welsh Mission at Aijal and in less degree to the London Baptists at Lungleh, with a snowball system of preaching by local converts. In a district of 7,000 square miles sparsely peopled by less than 100,000 people, there are now 27,000 Christians where ten years ago there were only two thousand. At present it is quite the fashion to be a Christian and even the Chiefs are joining the movement. At first I was inclined to cast doubt on the accuracy of the figures and suggested that zealous Christian enumerators might have made entries according to their own wishes rather than the facts. The Superintendent, however, thinks the case is rather the reverse. Mr. Scott tested many entries himself, and he quotes an instance of the rigorous standard adopted by the new converts: the five-year old son of Christian parents being entered as an Animist because the young scoundrel was so greedy that he failed to say his grace before meals! On the other hand, a mad woman of an Animist family was entered as a Christian, as she always went up to the church and joined in when hymns were being sung. In the other hill districts the community is not yet so strong, but all show very large proportionate increases. In Manipur, where the missions are working among the hill tribes, Christians number over 4,000 against 132 in 1911.

In the Surma Valley, as might be expected from the firm positions of Hinduism and Muhammadanism and the paucity of Animists, Christianity has little hold. The number of Christians has, however, increased to 3,300. These are mostly tea garden coolies who were Christians before they emigrated to Assam. There are also a few *ex*-Namasudras of the ordinary population.

In the Brahmaputra Valley all districts have increased their numbers of Christians. Goalpara has the largest number, 10,312, and also the greatest increase, as will be seen from Subsidiary Table III. This is due to the activity of the Lutheran Mission, referred to in the next paragraph. In the other districts of the valley most of the Christians are found among the tea-garden immigrants, though the missions have had some success also among primitive tribes, such as the Mikirs.

Examination of the age statistics in Imperial Table VII shows that Christian converts are made in fair numbers at all ages. The proportion of children aged under 10 is somewhat less among Christians than among the general population. In the age groups from 10 to 30 the proportion is greater for Christians. Thereafter, the general population has the higher proportions, progressively as the ages increase. As conditions of life do not differ greatly between the Christians and the Animists from whom the great bulk of the converts come, we may fairly deduce that the period from 10 to 30 years of age is the most popular for conversion: this is possibly due to the influence of mission schools on present and past pupils. Since material inducements are not offered and the help and advice of the Missionaries is not denied to followers of other religions, it appears that the chief motive of the converts in adopting Christianity is religious; though no doubt the care and attention displayed in mission hospitals and schools is a contributory cause by example. There are as yet no signs of any movement towards forming a national or independent Indian Christian Church in Assam.

Christian sects and Missions.

69. The distribution of Christians in districts by sect and for three race divisions, European and allied races, Anglo-Indians and Indians, is given in Imperial Table XV. The marginal statement shows the Provincial figures for sect in brief. Sixty per cent. of Europeans are members of the Church of England, 19 per cent. Presbyterians and 12 per cent. Roman Catholics. Nearly half the Anglo-Indian community is Roman Catholic. Among Indian Christians almost half are Presbyterians and over one-third are Baptists.

Christians.	Assam.
Protestant	126,563
Anglican	*7,807*
Baptist	*45,032*
Lutheran	*8,444*
Presbyterian	*63,909*
Unsectarian and other Protestants ...	*1,371*
Roman Catholic	5,419
Greek	1
Sect not returned	123
Total	132,106

Roman Catholics are distributed fairly evenly over the tea districts, with a few hundreds in each; most of these are garden coolies but some are local converts. In the Khasi Hills there are over 2,000 Catholics. The Mission working is the Roman Catholic Mission of Assam, with branches in Cachar, Sylhet, Kamrup, Darrang and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The Germans of this Mission have been replaced by French and Belgian fathers.

Among Protestant sects, the Church of England has most of its adherents in the Brahmaputra Valley, there being over 2,000 each in Darrang and Sibsagar. The Society for the propagation of the Gospel is working in the four upper districts of the valley. Lutherans are almost confined to the Brahmaputra Valley; those on the tea gardens are looked after by the Evangelical Lutheran (Gossner's) mission, which has stations in Darrang and Lakhimpur and which came to Assam to father its emigrant converts. The largest and most flourishing Lutheran community is, however, in Goalpara under the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches (Scandinavian), which maintains a colony and owns a tea estate, to which are brought Santals from Chota Nagpur. These missionaries also work among the Meches outside the colony. Their followers in the district have increased from 2,400 to 8,400 in ten years.

Baptists have more than doubled their numbers since 1911. Their missions have been very active, working in almost every district where the Welsh Mission has no branch. In Lungleh subdivision of the Lushai Hills the success of the London Baptist mission has already been noted; in North Lakhimpur the Canadian, and in Garo Hills, Kamrup, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Sadiya, Naga Hills and Manipur, the American Baptist missions are established. Their converts are chiefly members of the aboriginal tribes. In every one of these mission districts the increase of Baptists has

been large. In the Assam Valley with the Garo Hills they have increased from 16,000 to 27,000 ; in the Naga Hills from 3,000 to 8,000 and in Manipur from 71 to 2,000. In the Naga Hills, however, many Aos were found to have become backsliders : though previously Christians they appeared to have renounced entirely their Christianity, nor did they show the usual outward signs of Animism in observance of *gennas*, etc. It was ultimately decided that their religion was more Animism than anything else and they were entered as Animists.

Presbyterians, 31,000 in 1911, are now nearly 64,000. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission continued its well known work, religious, educational and medical, in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Lushai Hills, Cachar and Sylhet. The success in the Lushai Hills has been described above ; there only, mass or group conversion can be said to have taken place in the province. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills Presbyterians rose only by 8,000 to 36,000, where many people had expected bigger results ; the reasons seem to be curtailment of staff and funds as noted in paragraph 68. In the Surma Valley, where the mission works among depressed classes such as Namasudras, there has been a considerable increase in Cachar, with a slight decrease in Sylhet. In Manipur, 1,964 Presbyterians appear where there were none in 1911 ; this is due to the new work of the Thado-Kuki Pioneer mission, working among Kukis and other hill tribes on the borders of Manipur, Lushai Hills and the Chittagong Hill Tracts. This mission took a census of its adherents by its own agents concurrently with the general census, and the result differed somewhat from ours. I cannot give the reason : it may be due to doubt of the boundary, but in any case I think our figures are the more likely to be correct.

The only other missions of whose working in the province information has been received are the Church of God (American Mission), in the Khasi Hills, and the Salvation Army, in the Lushai Hills. The followers of the former number less than 1,000 and have been classed under Minor Protestant Denominations. The work of the latter was started in 1919 by a young Lushai who had attended a meeting in Calcutta, and had been converted and trained as an officer of the Salvation Army. The few Army converts on the census date seem to have been entered as Presbyterians or Baptists. In 1922, I am informed, the number of "enrolled soldiers" in the district is over 500.

Buddhists.

70. The Buddhists of the province have increased from 10,500 to 13,500, numbering now 17 in every 10,000 of the population. They are chiefly found in Sibsagar, Lakhimpur and the Sadiya Frontier Tract, in which districts they are descendants of old Burmese immigrants—Aitons, Khamtis, Phakials, Turungs, etc. In other districts there are several hundreds scattered chiefly in the Brahmaputra Valley and Lushai Hills. These are Bhutia traders, Nepalese immigrants, and Magh cooks from the Chittagong coast. Most of the Nepalis, however, returned themselves as Hindus. In the Lushai Hills and Manipur the Buddhists (over 1,000) are more recent immigrants from Burma. The increase of Buddhists is due partly to natural growth, partly to some Khamti villages on the Sadiya Frontier being newly censused, and partly to immigration. There is one Buddhist monastery in Sibsagar district.

Jains.
Sikhs.
Brahmos.

71. The Jains are all traders from Rajputana or Western India. Their numbers have increased in the decade from 2,500 to 3,500. As there are nearly 16,000 Rajputana immigrants of the Marwari trader class, it was thought that the number of Jains was unduly low and that some were being wrongly entered as Hindus. A special enquiry was made in Shillong, where only two of these merchants were returned as Jains, and it was found that the others were all definitely Hindus ; I think, therefore, that the figures for other districts are accurate. At the request of the Jain Association of India, Bombay, attempts were made to ascertain the sects of all Jains. The result was as in the margin ; it seems from the large number of the unspecified that most of them did not know, or did not care to distinguish, their sects. None of the nine Swetambars returned himself as a Swetambar Terapanthi.

Number of Jains by sect.

Swetambar	9
Digambar	227
Sthanakvasi	3
Sect unspecified	3,264
Total	3,503

Sikhs number only a thousand. They are skilled workmen in the railway and other workshops, carpenters, contractors and motor car drivers. They are still most numerous in Nowgong and Lakhimpur, where there are railway centres.

No Aryan were censused in Assam. There are 559 Brahmos against 428 in 1911. Nearly half of these were at Shillong, doubtless owing to the presence of the Government offices and Calcutta visitors. It is admitted on all sides that loosening of the rigour of Hindu rules is responsible for the low number of Brahmos : liberal-minded Assamese and Bengali people find that they can now hold what views they please and regulate their conduct much as they please while still retaining the name of Hindu. On the other hand there appears to be no tendency for Brahmos to be reabsorbed in Hinduism.

Miscellaneous.

72. Details are given on the title-page of Imperial Table VI of the 300 persons whose religions are classed as minor on account of their numerical insignificance. Among these are a few Jews, Parsees and Confucians; the majority fall under the head of indefinite beliefs, which includes Unitarians, freethinkers, atheists, agnostics and persons acknowledging no religion. All those of indefinite belief were tabulated as Christian in 1911; this year the Census Commissioner decided to omit them from Table XV as being out of place in a table which purports to show Christians only. Unitarians number 335, most of whom are in the Khasi Hills, where they have a church.

A few interesting and sometimes cryptic entries were found in the religion column of the schedules. In Sibsagar some enumerators entered the religion of Miris as *ādi dharma*, which might have meant primeval or principal, according to the meaning assigned to the Sanskrit *ādi*. Enquiry showed that the people were Animists and correction was made accordingly in the Central office. One European official returned himself as an Animist, holding that this was the nearest of the common words in use to describe the beliefs he held. Only one person, a highly educated Indian official, described himself as an atheist; the entry disappeared from Assam, however, as he was absent on the final census day. Two or three persons of really coruscant wit, Europeans using household schedules, amused themselves by such entries as Primitive Exceptionist and Nothing-arian.

Religion on tea-gardens.

73. Of the total tea-garden population of 922,000, over 782,000 or nearly 85 per cent. are Hindus. Animists number 110,000, about 12 per cent. of the total, against a proportion of a little over 9 per cent. in 1911 : this points to the increased recruiting from Chota Nagpur and Central Provinces animistic tribes, mentioned in the last chapter under tea-garden immigration.

Musalmans number only 19,000, a very slight increase on the 1911 number. Other religions account for 11,000, of whom about nine-tenths are Christians.

Religion as a basis of classification.

74. Apart from the intrinsic interest of the figures for the different religions tabulated in the main tables which have been quoted in the foregoing discussion, religion appears as a basis of classification of most of the statistics presented in the Imperial Tables. It has been suggested that this system should be abandoned in favour of some other classification based on social and economic condition. Religious differences divide society vertically and are no longer, it is said, the determining factors in customs such as early marriage, seclusion of women, treatment of children ; such matters are determined by horizontal divisions of society, differentiated from one another by economic and social conditions.

In Assam, I think the argument can hold only partially. It is true that in some places and in some matters there are differences which are determined by considerations other than those of religion : for instance the Rev. G. G. Crozier of Manipur quotes the case of Manipur Hindus who will allow an Animist from their own hills to enter their cooksheds but will not allow a Bengali, even a Brahman, to do so, because the Bengali is a foreigner while the Manipuri Animist is not. Again, a blind man of the Rajkumar caste was being led by the arm by a Manipuri Christian : the blind man accidentally touched his own cookhouse; pollution was regarded as having passed through him from the Christian and the shed had to be demolished. Such instances, however, do not usually refer to customs of demological importance.

These are more often determined by territorial divisions, and by caste, but partly by religion. For instance, both Hindus and Muhammadans marry earlier than Animists and Christians, a fact proved again by our present census statistics. Tabulation by territorial units we have already ; caste we have also as a basis of division, but this again is based largely on religious sanction. As I have shown above, there is a tendency among those Hindu castes who are making efforts to rise in the social scale to tighten rather than to loosen the bonds of orthodoxy. The reaction of this on social customs has been exemplified in recent years by the tendency in certain castes such as Mali, Patni, Nadiyal, to stop their women working in the fields or selling

fish in the market, or even going to market at all; and by the tendency to marry earlier and to discard widow remarriage among the Yogis in different districts. If we abandon the classification by religion, and with it that by caste also we shall cause much useful information to disappear. In an agricultural country such as Assam it is difficult to see what horizontal divisions by economic and social conditions are to be put in the place of the vertical religious divisions. We cannot divide the people into the classes, the masses and the asses. In an industrial country, a classification by occupation—mental and manual, skilled and unskilled, wages per head above or below certain limits, etc.,—would probably yield valuable sociological information. Other divisions that might be suggested are those of education and wealth; for instance, it is the custom nowadays for educated men of means, especially the Sahas, now known as Vaisya Saha or Vaisya, and sometimes as Das, to be allowed to mix freely in all matters except those of food and drink with others of higher castes. But these things affect only a small minority of the population. Again, any attempt at a scientific classification by race would be complicated by the number of aboriginal tribes, and by the heterogeneity of the tea-garden population. Also we have already, in the division by districts, racial classification in a considerable measure: the Naga Hills statistics represent Nagas, Sylhet represent Bengalis of Sylhet, and Kamrup stands for Assamese races; though immigration disturbs the figures everywhere. Poverty is certainly a factor influencing various customs as well as a question of supreme importance in itself. We know that the country is poor. If the Census could tell us how poor and how many people are actually above or below a certain standard, its results would certainly be of increased value. To use the Census for something in the nature of a vast intensive economic enquiry, however, would not be easy. The only other classification that would be of use in this province at present is one based on agricultural conditions. The practical difficulties of this, however, are very great. A division by land tenures would be easy, but its value would be small: we have already division by districts in all the census tables, and the main areas of permanently and temporarily settled land are sharply defined; moreover, it cannot be said that any serious difference in social customs can be detected between peasant proprietors and tenants, as such.

Perhaps the best way to classify the population, for sociological enquiry, and for information of use for administrative purposes, would be by the major occupational divisions, agricultural and one or two non-agricultural pursuits; with subdivision of agriculture into those who live on rent, ordinary cultivators, tea-garden coolies and ordinary field labourers. So far the information could be obtained from our present schedules; though several tedious sortings and resortings would be necessary, to obtain age, birth-place, language, etc., by occupation. In order to be of practical value, however, the enormous class of ordinary cultivators would have to be subdivided and placed in groups which could be compared or contrasted with each other, and herein lies the greatest difficulty. If the land were all of the same class and climatic conditions were equal everywhere, the problem would be beautifully simple: we could take an arbitrary poverty line, the criterion being, say, cultivation of an area greater or less than 2 bighas per family member, and make up our statistics of age, civil condition, religion, sex, immigration, infirmities, by these and the other groups suggested above.

Differences of rent or revenue, rainfall, productivity of soil, liability to flood and other local conditions would, however, render this classification so complicated as to be very difficult of attainment with the ordinary census agency. The classification of land made at settlement would have to be considered, and the columns of the schedule multiplied; the army of unpaid enumerators would probably rebel, or fudge the entries hopelessly, and the time taken over enumeration, compilation and tabulation would be much increased.

I conclude, therefore, that the present classification of the census statistics by religion is still of considerable use; that no substitute is of practical value except one based on occupation, with certain subdivisions for the material condition of cultivators; that such a classification would involve extra columns in the census schedules and would be difficult but not impossible, if more money could be found for the enumeration than has been spent in the past. If any such scheme or classification is proposed for the next census, it would probably be better to begin with a small and rather homogeneous area as a sample.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

General distribution of the population by Religion.

Religion and Locality.	Actual Number in 1921.	Proportion per 10,000 of population.					Variation per cent. (increase + decrease−).				Net variation per cent.
		1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911 to 1921.	1901 to 1911.	1891 to 1901.	1881 to 1891.	1881 to 1921.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
HINDU.											
ASSAM	**4,362,571**	**5,460**	**5,437**	**5,597**	**5,472**	**6,258**	**+13·6**	**+11·9**	**+14·4**	**−6·1**	**+36·6**
Brahmaputra Valley ...	2,662,129	6,878	7,014	7,182	6,984	8,504	+21·6	+15·9	+0·9	−9·6	+40·1
Surma Valley ...	1,418,590	4,665	4,771	5,000	4,960	5,039	+1·1	+5·7	+5·7	+10·6	+24·9
Hills	291,452	2,668	2,523	2,584	599	2,661	+14·5	+15·7	+627·3	−81·6	+77·0
MUSALMAN.											
ASSAM	**2,219,947**	**2,778**	**2,693**	**2,581**	**2,710**	**2,591**	**+16·8**	**+20·2**	**+6·6**	**+12·3**	**+67·9**
Brahmaputra Valley ...	586,192	1,520	1,143	950	981	918	+65·0	+42·8	+3·6	+17·6	+166·9
Surma Valley ...	1,604,012	5,273	5,166	4,929	4,904	4,906	+5·5	+16·3	+5·7	+11·6	+44·3
Hills	29,743	272	251	299	136	156	+17·5	−0·5	+271·2	−2·2	+247·2
ANIMIST.											
ASSAM	**1,256,641**	**1,573**	**1,755**	**1,744**	**1,771**	**1,124**	**+1·4**	**+16·0**	**+10·2**	**+69·1**	**+119·1**
Brahmaputra Valley ...	562,742	1,459	1,734	1,782	1,974	534	+4·4	+15·5	−3·5	+307·1	373·8+
Surma Valley ...	14,879	49	53	73	110	59	−4·5	−19·8	−29·9	+108·7	+12·6
Hills	679,020	6,215	6,790	6,845	9,080	7,135	−0·8	+17·6	+27·0	+3·8	+53·8
CHRISTIAN.											
ASSAM	**132,106**	**165**	**94**	**59**	**31**	**14**	**+98·5**	**+85·1**	**+113·5**	**+137·2**	**+1,769·6**
Brahmaputra Valley ...	38,725	100	68	48	28	14	+63·0	+69·8	+83·7	+116·8	+1,131·2
Surma Valley ...	3,360	11	9	6	6	5	+28·0	+54·6	+17·1	+26·9	+194·2
Hills	90,017	824	423	256	170	45	+111·9	+96·2	+155·6	+205·1	+3,102·3
BUDDHIST.											
ASSAM	**13,520**	**17**	**15**	**15**	**14**	**13**	**+28·6**	**+18·0**	**+15·8**	**+17·2**	**+105·9**
Brahmaputra Valley ...	12,075	31	31	30	28	29	+23·3	+23·3	+14·5	+7·9	+88·0
Surma Valley ...	50	...	...	...	...	...	+13·6	+109·5	+110·0	...	...
Hills	1,393	13	7	11	15	2	+105·8	−28·6	+26·0	+434·8	+889·4
OTHERS.											
ASSAM	**5,461**	**7**	**5**	**4**	**3**	**1**	**+47·5**	**+36·4**	**+83·2**	**+324·4**	**+1,464·8**
Brahmaputra Valley ...	4,031	10	9	8	5	1	+36·5	+40·6	+58·3	+420·4	+1,480·9
Surma Valley ...	523	2	1	1	...	...	+153·8	−19·1	+107·3	+59·0	+577·9
Hills	902	8	4	4	1	...	+67·0	+52·1	+1083·3	+87·5	+5,537·5

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Distribution by districts of the main religion.

District and Natural Division.	Number per 10,000 of the population who are—														
	Hindus.					Muhammadans.					Animists.				
	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
ASSAM	**5,460**	**5,427**	**5,597**	**5,472**	**6,258**	**2,778**	**2,693**	**2,581**	**2,710**	**2,591**	**1,573**	**1,755**	**1,744**	**1,771**	**1,124**
Brahmaputra Valley ...	**6,878**	**7,014**	**7,182**	**6,984**	**8,504**	**1,520**	**1,143**	**950**	**981**	**918**	**1,459**	**1,734**	**1,782**	**1,974**	**534**
Goalpara	4,844	5,573	4,409	4,631	7,374	4,151	3,522	2,779	2,751	2,348	848	788	2,719	2,567	262
Kamrup	7,141	6,876	6,914	7,019	8,836	1,423	968	911	873	782	1,336	2,105	2,132	2,077	364
Darrang	7,077	6,502	7,095	6,367	9,213	764	538	515	599	567	2,023	2,862	2,326	2,985	177
Nowgong	5,579	5,856	6,422	6,226	8,040	1,774	517	482	411	388	2,553	3,560	3,054	3,343	1,560
Sibsagar	8,443	8,623	8,855	9,157	9,173	425	431	416	433	423	991	884	656	355	373
Lakhimpur	7,834	7,846	8,979	8,944	8,469	263	286	321	318	323	1,681	1,635	484	493	910
Sadiya	4,871	...	...	...	...	145	...	...	...	...	4,186	...	...	...	...
Balipara	7,172	...	...	...	...	68	...	...	...	...	2,223	...	...	...	...
Surma Valley ...	**4,665**	**4,771**	**5,000**	**4,980**	**5,030**	**5,273**	**5,166**	**4,920**	**4,904**	**4,906**	**49**	**53**	**73**	**110**	**59**
Cachar plains	6,379	6,488	6,725	6,528	6,449	3,409	3,311	3,055	3,070	3,145	177	177	194	378	330
Sylhet	4,327	4,444	4,680	4,715	4,821	5,640	5,519	5,265	5,217	5,157	24	29	50	64	18
Hills	**2,663**	**2,523**	**2,584**	**599**	**2,661**	**272**	**251**	**299**	**136**	**156**	**6,215**	**6,790**	**6,845**	**9,089**	**7,135**
Garo Hills	1,049	1,310	960	937	1,448	524	517	534	469	377	7,988	7,811	8,192	8,472	8,099
North Cachar	7,165	5,521	5,858	4,340	4,478	153	162	1,422	8	1	2,376	4,283	2,656	5,651	5,519
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	540	402	265	230	356	58	65	55	41	33	7,682	8,187	8,815	9,306	9,50
Naga Hills	390	282	327	361	133	43	21	14	17	9	9,019	9,473	9,565	9,571	9,85
Lushai Hills	357	385	409	368	...	37	34	25	49	...	6,675	9,274	9,742	9,578	...
Manipur	5,994	5,816	5,996	...	5,920	455	419	365	...	220	3,433	3,758	3,631	...	3,85

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Christians, number and variations.

District and Natural Divisions.	Actual number of Christians in					Variation per cent.				
	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911-1921.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	1881-1921.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM	132,106	66,562	35,969	16,844	7,100	+98·5	+85·1	+113·5	+137·2	+1,760·6
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	38,723	21,272	12,526	6,817	3,145	+82·0	+69·8	+83·7	+116·8	+1,131·3
Goalpara	10,312	5,252	3,495	1,632	513	+96·3	+50·8	+114·2	+218·1	+1,910·1
Kamrup	3,661	2,535	1,479	948	366	+44·4	+71·4	+56·0	+159·0	+900·3
Darrang	5,318	1,913	1,358	849	371	+178·0	+40·9	+60·0	+128·8	+1,333·4
Nowgong	2,925	1,373	593	417	254	+113·0	+131·5	+42·2	+64·2	+1,051·6
Sibsagar	8,380	5,410	2,489	1,365	804	+54·9	+117·4	+82·3	+69·8	+942·3
Lakhimpur	7,731	4,789	3,112	1,606	837	+61·4	+53·9	+93·8	+91·9	+823·7
Sadiya	300	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Balipara	96	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
SURMA VALLEY	3,366	2,629	1,701	1,452	1,144	+28·0	+54·6	+17·1	+26·9	+194·2
Cachar plains	1,610	1,117	957	809	765	+44·1	+16·7	+18·3	+5·8	+110·5
Sylhet	1,756	1,512	744	643	379	+16·1	+103·2	+15·7	+69·7	+363·3
HILLS	90,017	42,661	21,742	8,575	2,811	+111·0	+96·2	+153·6	+205·1	+3,102·3
Garo Hills	7,608	5,439	3,647	1,184	670	+39·9	+49·1	+208·0	+76·7	+1,035·5
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	41,122	31,257	17,321	7,144	2,107	+31·6	+80·5	+142·5	+239·1	+1,851·7
North Cachar	783	64	83	1	2	+1,123·4	—22·9	+8,200·0	—50·0	...
Naga Hills	8,734	3,308	601	231	25	+10	+450·4	+160·2	+824·0	...
Lushai Hills	27,720	2,461	45	15	...	+1,026·4	+5,368·9	+200·0	...	...
Manipur	4,050	132	45	...	7	+2,968·2	+193·3	...	...	...

NOTE—In the calculations for the province and for natural divisions those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Religions of urban and rural population.

Natural Divisions.	Number per 10,000 of urban population who are					Number per 10,000 of rural population who are				
	Hindu.	Musalman.	Animist.	Christian.	Others.	Hindu.	Musalman	Animist.	Christian.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM	7,610	1,721	376	212	81	5,368	2,814	1,612	164	22
I. Brahmaputra Valley.	7,540	2,116	92	125	127	6,859	1,503	1,500	99	39
II. Surma Valley ...	5,971	3,963	23	95	48	4,644	5,296	49	10	1
III. Hills ...	8,474	257	858	364	47	2,083	274	6,755	870	18

CHAPTER V.

AGE.

Introductory.

75. In this chapter the treatment of age statistics is limited to consideration of the conclusions which may be drawn from them on the subjects of the length of life, the fertility of the people and the changes in their age distribution. Age in relation to sex, marriage, education and infirmities is discussed in the chapters on those subjects. The statistics we are concerned with are contained in Imperial Table VII (Age, sex and civil condition by districts and main religions), supplemented by Provincial Table VI (Tea garden population by age, sex and civil condition, Sibsagar district). There are twelve subsidiary tables appended to this chapter; the first of these is prepared from a special statement, the last four show birth and death-rates as recorded in the Public Health Department statistics, and the rest are deduced from Imperial Tables VII and XIV (Civil condition by age for selected castes).

In scrutinizing the tables and arguments three points are to be borne in mind:—(1) the age supposed to be recorded for each person is that of last birthday, *i.e.*, it is the *number of completed years on the census night, March 18th*; a child under one year was to be entered as infant, and particular instructions were given to the enumerators to this effect; (2) our age periods in most of the tables are shown as 0-5, 5-10, 10-15, etc., in accordance with previous practice and with the standard forms prescribed by the Government of India; these groups represent, however, those up to but not a day over 5, then not over 10, etc. In view of our definition of age they might be, and often are in statistical works, designated as 0-4, 5-9, 10-14, etc., both numbers being inclusive in each group; such notation would nullify any possible suspicion that a child of 5 years and 11 months old, say, had been included in the 0-5 group; (3) the inaccuracy of age returns; this is dealt with in the next paragraph.

Inaccuracy of the statistics.

76. Age statistics are probably the most inaccurate of any in every country in the world; so that in Assam, with its large proportion of illiterate people and defective system of registration of vital occurrences, glaring defects in the returns are no matter for surprise. Most officials are familiar with such answers as "twenty-forty" or "fifty-sixty" in answer to questions about age put to an illiterate cultivator. Cases of inaccuracy, intentional or otherwise, are not wanting also among the educated; for instance, a candidate applying to leave the Census Department for a permanent post elsewhere produced a certificate of age supported by an affidavit sworn by his elder brother some years before, and remarked that he was prepared to produce evidence that his brother's affidavit was false and was only made in order to gain admission to an examination!

Inaccuracies are due generally to (1) ignorance, both of the enumerators and of the persons being enumerated, causing the use of round and favourite numbers; (2) deliberate under-statement; (3) overstatement. For the first cause, let us examine Subsidiary Table I. This table has been prepared from a statement of actual ages returned by about 150,000 of each sex in two typical rural areas of the Brahmaputra and Surma Valleys, little disturbed by migration—the same statement as that submitted to the Government of India Actuary for his analysis of the provincial figures. The first point brought out by this table of distribution by annual age-periods is the large number of infants under one year compared with those from one to two.* This phenomenon occurs at every census: it is due, partly at least, to the entry as infants of many children over one year old still being suckled by their mothers—no amount of instruction as to the definition of infant could be expected wholly to eliminate this tendency among the enumerators.

Above 1 year and up to 8 the numbers are fairly evenly divided, but thereafter it will be noticed that there is a series of maxima at every multiple of ten, with a series of lesser high numbers at every odd multiple of five. This tendency to return multiples of ten and five occurs in most other countries, though perhaps not to so marked a degree. Other points to be noted are partiality for ages 14 and 16 and a recurring fondness for figures ending in 2 or 8; for instance, males aged 31 are 263, those aged 32 are 1,565 and those of 33 are only 386, and females of 18 are 2,647 against 767 aged 19 and 966 aged 17. The favourite ages for males are 8, 10, 12, 30 and 40, and those for females 8, 20, 25, 30 and 40. Both sexes seem to object to age 21. Owing to these extraordinarily high peaks at the tens and fives being combined with other peaks at the twos and eights, any process of smoothing

* In Great Britain and Ireland, according to Dr. Grauford Dunlop, the age of children is more often over than under stated; but in the case of infants under year old, understatement is more frequent.

Vide Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, May 1916.

becomes very elaborate and unreliable, at any rate for five-year age periods. A graph of age distribution prepared on the crude annual age periods has the appearance of the temperature chart of a malignant-malaria patient, and is useless for practical purposes. It has been pointed out also that smoothing tends to obscure real differences, as well as the artificial ones; the Census Commissioner has therefore expressed a preference for the use of crude figures rather than adjusted ones in certain calculations from the tables, notably that of the mean age of the population. I have therefore refrained from representing the annual age figures by any diagram and have used the crude census figures by 5-year or other periods for analysis of the age distribution.

Inaccuracies from under-statement will be found to occur in the ages of unmarried girls when they are near or over the age of puberty, and also for elderly bachelors and widowers. Overestimates of age are made usually by old people, either from ignorance or from pride in being very old; but as the absolute number of old persons is not great, these have little effect on the statistics compared with the effects of the other causes noted above. An example of deliberate misstatement is found in the fact that the number of females aged 25-30 in the whole population of 1921 is 9 per cent. greater than the number in the group 15-20 ten years before; this result can hardly be due to immigration only and most likely arises from under-estimates by females above 30 in 1921 and by unmarried girls above 15 in 1911. Another factor, though not an inaccuracy, which has a disturbing effect on the statistics is migration. This is discussed in the next paragraph.

Age distribution of immigrants.

77. In Chapter III I have shown that there are three great streams of immigration. Of these, the Nepalis have a number of females only about half the number of males, and their children must be proportionately less also; their effect on both age and sex distribution is therefore to raise the numbers at the prime of life, especially among males, considerably. No special age table could be prepared for them; their number, however, is far less than that of the other two classes of immigrants. For the Eastern Bengal settlers in the Assam Valley Provincial Table IV shows three main age-periods. These bring their women and children, but not in the same proportion as that of the general population. Their children under 15 are about two-thirds of those aged 15-40, while for the whole population children number rather more than the 15-40 adults. The proportion of those above 40 to those of 15-40 is about the same for these immigrants as for the whole of Assam. The result is that we get the numbers in all age periods above 15 raised for the whole population by this influx of colonists.

For the third and greatest source of immigration, that to the tea gardens, I have had a special table prepared (Provincial Table VI). This table shows ages for Sibsagar tea garden population only: Sibsagar being a typical tea district we may fairly use the figures to make proportional estimates for the whole province, as the total tea population is known, by sex though not by age, from the other special provincial tables. In 1911, Mr. McSwiney separated the tea garden figures for Sibsagar and discussed to some extent their effect on the general age distribution; no table was printed, but this year's figures agree more or less with the results then found for tea garden ages. The following statement shows the tea population in age groups for the whole province on the Sibsagar basis, the three large age groups for the Eastern Bengal settlers in the Brahmaputra Valley, the recorded provincial age distribution and its corrected appearance when allowance is made for the two classes of immigrants.

Age distribution of 10,000 of both sexes, 1921.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Age.	Assam, tea gardens only.	Whole of Assam, as recorded.	Assam, with tea gardens eliminated.	East Bengal immigrants.	Assam with tea and Eastern Bengal immigrants both eliminated.
0–5	1,192	1,379	1,403		
5–10	1,473 } 3,795	1,647 } 4,159	1,669 } 4,206	} 3,137	4,247
10–15	1,130	1,133	1,134		
15–20	648	849	875		
20–40	3,873 } 4,521	3,172 } 4,021	3,080 } 3,955	} 4,801	3,923
40–60	1,522	1,421	1,407		
60 and over	162 } 1,684	399 } 1,820	432 } 1,839	} 2,062	1,830
	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000

Thus the combined effect of the two classes of immigrants is to lower by 88 the proportion under 15 and by 10 the proportion aged 40 and over, while raising by 98 that of the 15-40 period, per 10,000 of all ages in the province. That these differences are not much greater in a province which has one-sixth of its population foreign-born is due to the peculiar types of immigration, which induce families rather than only adult workers to come to Assam.

It is questionable how far such corrections should be carried, however, as practically all the East Bengal people are permanent settlers and now belong to Assam, and many of the tea garden population, though foreign, will become settlers. I am unable to estimate with any exactitude the effect of Nepali settlers, casual visitors and general labourer immigrants: their exclusion would doubtless lower the natural provincial proportion aged 15-40 a good deal further—probably to below 3,800 per 10,000,—and raise the numbers of children and older people. The age distribution for the whole province will be discussed in paragraph 79 on the basis of the recorded figures only. It should be noted that the tea garden population referred to in the statement above is the whole, and not only the foreign-born, population enumerated on the gardens. Over one-third of those enumerated on tea gardens were born in Assam, though for the most part of foreign parents.

Sundbarg's theory.

78. It is interesting to note from the Sibsagar figures how closely the district as a whole bears out Sundbärg's theory and how the tea garden population diverges from it. In the first place it is laid down that in almost all countries the population aged 15-50 is uniformly about half the total population. For the whole Sibsagar district the number aged 15-50 per 10,000 of the population is 5,007, while for the tea gardens only it is 5,586. Sundbärg has also pointed out that in a growing population the number in the group 0-15 is much higher than that in the group of 50 and over. In Sibsagar the former number is more than five times the latter, so that it is no wonder that the natural population of Sibsagar has increased greatly. On the tea gardens, though there is a preponderance of persons aged 15-50, there are very few old people; those under 15 are in fact more than six times the number of those aged 50 and over. This points again to the tea gardens also possessing great possibilities of natural increase in population, as suggested in the census report of 1911 by Mr. McSwiney.

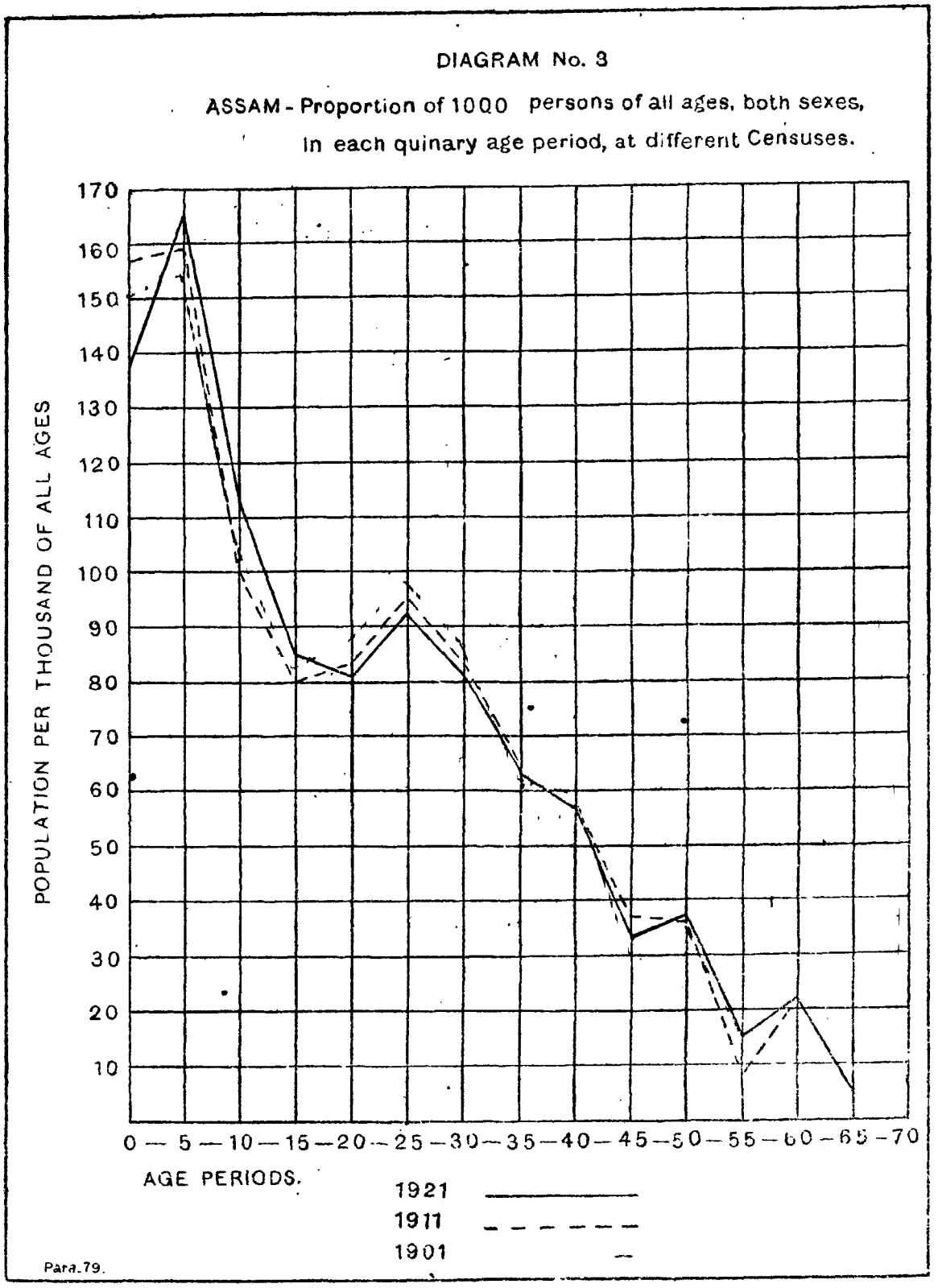
For the province as a whole, the proportions given in the margin support the theory fairly closely. Elimination of the tea gardens alters the groups to 421, 484 and 95.

Assam recorded ages per 1,000 persons.	
0—15	416
15—50	493
50 and over ...	91
	1,000

Age distribution—general.

79. In spite of the marked inaccuracies noted in paragraph 76 above, their persistence at each census enables us to use the figures with some confidence for comparison. Subsidiary Table II shows the numbers returned at the last four censuses in annual groups up to 5 and thereafter in quinary age-groups. It will be noticed that for all the groups up to 5 the numbers for both males and females are all less than the corresponding ones of 1911, and in fact less than they have been in all the four previous census years, with the exception of females aged 3-4 and 4-5 in 1901; before the present year, 1901 has been the worst census year for young children, owing to *kala-azar* and the earthquake of 1897 and their adverse action on the birth-rate. In the three groups from 5 to 20 both sexes show increased proportions over those of the same groups in 1911. From 25 to 40 the exact opposite is the case, except that the proportion of females aged 35 to 40 is slightly greater for 1921 than for 1911.

From 40 to 50 the 1921 figures again prevail slightly over the 1911 ones for both sexes ; while after 50 the male proportion of the present census is generally greater in all periods, and the female generally less, than that of the last. The figures are represented graphically in diagram No. 3, which shows the age-distribution line for the last three censuses for the whole population of both sexes.



The black line of 1921 starts far below the 1911 dotted line, then goes above it at about five and remains so till about age 20, after which it stays below or near it till 50, when it again assumes a higher position.

This variation in the distribution exactly illustrates the bad conditions in the latter half of the decade, and especially the influenza epidemic. The fall in proportion at the middle period of life corresponds with what we have been led to expect, *viz.*, that influenza was more fatal to persons in the prime of life. The low

proportion of children under five years old represents the influence on the birth-rate of lowered vitality and decreased proportion of women of child-bearing age caused by influenza; also probably to some extent the bad economic conditions prevailing owing to the war and to local calamities. The higher ratio of children aged 5-10 reflects the higher birth-rate and better general conditions in the first half of the decade. The outbreaks of other diseases and calamities such as floods, though virulent, have been so local that it is not possible to isolate their effects for illustration by the statistics, though we can see that their cumulative effect has been greatest in the Surma Valley. In the Brahmaputra Valley the drop in the proportion of children aged 0 5 has been much less than that in the Surma Valley and somewhat less than that in the Hills: this corresponds with the relative positions of the rates of natural increase in the three divisions, discussed in Chapter I, paragraph 20.

In the period of age 60 and over, males in all the divisions have increased in proportion to the total, but females show a decrease in the two valleys. It is tempting to infer that old women suffered more than old men from the influenza epidemic, but the Hills figures belie this: the proportion of women as well as that of men over 60 has increased in the Hills. Possibly the harder economic conditions and more confined life of the plains women have reinforced influenza in bringing down their proportions as against those of the Hills. In the Hills there is actually a slight increase in the proportion of males between 20 and 40; this I think is probably due to immigration of Nepalis.

The effect of *kala-azar* and the earthquake in the decade 1891-1901 can be traced in the next decades in the diagram, in the case of the children and persons over 50: the line of 1901 group 0-5, showing lowered birth-rate by its low position, is represented in 1911 by the low position of the dotted line from 10-15 and in 1921 by the plain black line of age group 20-25. In the middle periods of life it has now become obscured by influenza and migration effects. The recovery in fertility by 1911 shown by the high place of the dotted line for children aged 0-5 is reflected in the high position of the 10-15 line for 1921.

The effect of the present age distribution should be (1) a continuance of the comparatively low birth-rate in the early years of the coming decade, with a recovery as the increased number of those now aged 5-20 marry and reach reproductive ages; (2) the deficiency of those aged 0-5 now will not make itself felt by any effect on the birth-rate until the decade after 1931, by which time it will possibly be obscured by immigration; (3) a higher death-rate than the normal should continue for several years, particularly among males, owing to the larger proportion at the later ages and to the lower numbers in the prime of life. This tendency, however, is likely to disappear as the generation now aged 5-20 grows up fully.

In any case these effects, unless reinforced by further economic or epidemic disasters, will probably not be very marked in a fertile population recovering after a bad epidemic. It should be noted that influenza, although bad in Assam, does not appear to have produced so heavy a mortality on the indigenous population as in most other provinces and States in India: the rate of natural increase in Assam for the decade covered by the census is seven times the actual increase rate for the whole of India.

Mean Age.

80. In Subsidiary Tables II and III will be found the mean age of the population calculated for the province, the natural divisions and the three main religions at each census since 1891. The mean age is the average age of the people alive at the time of the census; if births and deaths were exactly equal it would correspond with the mean duration of life. As it is, it must not be confused with the death-rate or expectation of life at birth; it can be used only to exhibit and not to explain variations in the age distribution. Generally a higher mean age will mean fewer children or greater longevity, or both, in the population. In a growing population with a large number of children the mean age of the living will be less than in a decadent one where the children are relatively few. It will be noticed that the mean age in the province has remained nearly constant for females and has risen slightly in the case of males, since 1891. In the natural divisions the variations are not great. For males it has risen slightly in all three divisions since 1911, and for females it has fallen slightly in the Brahmaputra Valley and the Hills while remaining constant in the Surma Valley. The meaning of this is shown by detailed examination of the figures for the different age-periods. While the proportion of children under 5 years old of both sexes has fallen and thereby raised the mean age, that

of old males has risen in all three divisions and has helped to raise further the male mean age ; the proportion of old females has risen only in the Hills and has fallen considerably in the two Valley divisions, thus keeping down the female mean age for the province.

The rise in the number of both sexes at the periods 5-10, 10-15 and 15-20 has also helped in keeping down the mean age for both sexes.

In the mean ages exhibited by religion (Subsidiary Table III) the same slight variations appear for the sexes. In no case are the differences serious enough to excite alarm about any section of the population. The mean age of Muhammadans for both sexes has always been considerably lower than that for Hindus and Animists, while that of Animists is somewhat less than the Hindus. The differences are probably due in part to the large number of Hindus at ages above the mean employed on tea gardens ; but the proportion of children under 5 is from one to two per cent. greater for Muhammadans and this, with the lower Muhammadan mean age, may be accounted for by earlier marriages and the freedom of widow remarriage allowed to Musalmans ; it is exemplified by the very small Hindu rate of increase in the Surma Valley compared with that of Muhammadans.

Age distribution of certain castes.

81. Subsidiary Tables IV and IV-A give age distributions and proportions in certain castes. The castes indigenous to the Brahmaputra Valley show a greater proportion of children than those of the Surma Valley or those spread over the whole province. In 1911 it was suggested that the people of the Brahmaputra Valley might be more prolific but also more short-lived than others. The figures this year support the theory, and the fact of children aged 5-12 being more numerous in the Brahmaputra Valley castes than in other castes shows that it is not only the greater drop in the birth-rate of the Surma Valley in the latter part of the decade which has produced the result ; nevertheless we must still attribute greater error in age entry to the Brahmaputra Valley enumerators than to those of the Surma Valley.

Vital Statistics.

82. In Chapter I, paragraph 23, I have commented on the untrustworthiness of the statistics of births and deaths as registered in Assam ; such as they are, they are incomplete and can hardly be made use of in connection with the age statistics. For instance, death-rates by religion are available, but not birth-rates ; again, some parts of the plains and most of the hills are not subject to registration. Although age figures have been submitted for actuarial analysis at the present census, the actuary's report is not yet available ; nor did he deal separately with Assam at the last census.

Absolute calculations based on the statistics are therefore of little value. In 1891 Mr. Gait estimated the provincial birth-rate at 49·3 per mille, and Mr. McSwiney in 1911 by a different method arrived at 49·2. In both cases, however, very bold assumptions were made, and the estimate seems too high, although nearer the truth than the rate shown by the tables of vital statistics. The average recorded birth-rate for ten years in the province (given separately for males and females in Subsidiary Table VII) is 32·5 and the average death-rate (Subsidiary Table IX) is 31·5. The difference of 1·0 per mille per annum between these figures is far from the 8·3 required to give us the increase disclosed by the census in the natural population of the province. The discrepancy is due to the disturbing effect of immigration as well as to great inaccuracy in the registration of vital occurrences. In areas tested by officials of the Sanitary Department omissions varying from 2 to 10 per cent. in different areas have been detected, but it seems certain that there must be more errors than this. Omissions of births are more common than those of deaths, however, and I have suggested in Appendix A at the end of this report how the figures may be to some extent reconciled. While the actuary's report is still awaited, it is useless for the layman to attempt any new estimate of standard birth and death-rates for Assam, based on age statistics alone ; as I have pointed out in the Appendix, deaths of those not born in the province disturb the statistics enormously. For the present it seems best to accept the estimated birth-rate of 45, stated by the Chief Commissioner in 1903, as a standard ; this would make the average death-rate between 35 and 37.

Infancy and childhood.

83. Subsidiary Tables V and V-A contain materials for estimating the present capabilities of the people to increase in comparison with their position in 1901 and 1911. The proportion of children under 10 per 100 persons has decreased in the province and in each natural division since the last census, but is still higher than in 1901 save in the Surma Valley.

The proportion of children to the number of women in the productive period, 15—40, is more important. This has increased slightly in the Brahmaputra Valley but decreased elsewhere, though individual districts show variations both above and below the standard in all the divisions. It seems that the Brahmaputra Valley is recovering its productive power after the influenza epidemic more quickly than the Hills and the Surma Valley. The Hills women still have the largest families and the Surma Valley the smallest, but the Hills have the lowest proportion of married women aged 15-40. The number of married women compared with the total number of females remains fairly constant and high in the two valleys, but in the Hills it continues to decrease; there are now only 27 married women of 15-40 to every 100 women of all ages in the Hills as a whole. The reason is to be found in the later ages at which Animists and Christians marry, as compared with Hindus and Muhammadans: this does not apply to the Garo Hills, however, where the proportion is the highest in the province—36 per cent. The Surma Valley shows more married women of the stated ages on account of the early marriage custom there of both Hindus and Muhammadans.

Turning to the figures by religion in Subsidiary Table V-A, it is seen that all alike suffer from the decrease in children under 10 compared with the general adult population in middle life, while Hindus and Christians have increased slightly their proportion of children to married women aged 15—40. At the same time the proportion of married females at the reproductive period to the whole female population has fallen slightly for the province, to the value it had in 1901, the census year which followed on a decade of bad health and natural calamities, especially in the Brahmaputra Valley. This proportion has fallen in all the main religions except Muhammadanism and even the Muhammadan proportion has fallen in the Surma Valley. One reason for this fall, combined with only a slight fall in the size of families, is probably that the weaker married women were carried off by influenza while the stronger, capable of bearing larger numbers of children, survived. Another reason is the raising of the marriage age (discussed in Chapter VII, paragraph 97).

The drop in average size of family of each married Hindu woman of the Surma Valley, compared with the rise shown for the province and for her sisters of the Brahmaputra Valley, is due in part to the extra bad conditions of the Surma Valley and also probably to the practice of early marriage adopted by certain castes in their endeavour to rise in the social scale or rather, one should perhaps say, to cause Hindu society of the other castes to recognise what they consider is their true position. The smaller size of family cannot be attributed to the adoption of any western methods of birth control.

Special enquiry was made on this point: the general opinion and report is that such methods are spreading to some extent among educated people, chiefly town-dwellers, but that they have not reached the great mass of the people. Educated persons, it is said, are now compelled by economic stress to limit their families, and to those familiar with Calcutta or other great towns the necessary articles are easily accessible at chemists' shops. One esteemed correspondent in the plains has sent a note describing the various means in use and has even supplied the prescription for a certain preventive medicine. The same gentleman mentions also the salutary Hindu rules which prescribe certain days and forbid other days in the month for cohabitation between husband and wife; he considers, however, that the observance of these maxims, except among very orthodox people, has declined greatly and with it the beneficial effect on the family and the health of the parents. It will be long before any Malthusian doctrines and modern practices are adopted by the people in general; in most of Assam there is no pressure on the soil, and where such pressure comes, emigration will take place before limitation of families is contemplated. Failing emigration, or much more intensive cultivation, natural selection will act and the death-rate will rise with the birth-rate.

Infantile mortality.

84. Owing to the usual reasons, well-known in India, the mortality of infants under one year of age in Assam stands high as compared with that in western countries. For instance, in 1920, the last full calendar year before the census, the recorded rate was 187·6 per mille for Assam while the rate in England and Wales was only 80. The province, however, does not stand badly in this respect among other provinces of India. For the same year the rate in the Central Provinces was 255·7, in Bengal 207·4, in Burma 186·6, in Bihar 169·5 and in Madras 161·5.

In eight out of the eleven years shown in the following table, the Surma Valley has suffered more than the Brahmaputra Valley from mortality among infants :—

Mortality per mille, infants under one year, calculated on number of births in the year.

Year.	Assam.	Brahmaputra Valley.	Surma Valley.
1	2	3	4
1911	176·8	179·2	174·3
1912	196 6	193·4	200·0
1913	201·2	189·1	214·2
1914	189·5	191·8	187·0
1915	201·9	187·0	217 5
1916	202·0	197·0	207·8
1917	189·3	182·3	197·9
1918	216·9	223·6	209·7
1919	239·8	218·4	265·1
1920	187·6	187·5	187·7
1921	187·3	184·4	190·0

These figures illustrate again how the economic and climatic troubles of the decade have fallen generally more heavily on the Surma Valley, while the influenza epidemic was less fatal to the infants there in 1918 than in the Brahmapura Valley. The very high Surma Valley rate for 1919 reflects the later prevalence of influenza followed by malaria, and general scarcity caused by floods. The figures for 1920 and 1921, however, give hope of better times, the infant mortality being lower than it has been since 1911 for the province.

It has been suggested that a high rate of infantile mortality such as we have in India is selective and results in a lower mortality in later life; on the other hand, it has been held that the same conditions that give rise to a high infant mortality influence the mortality in later life and that there is no evidence of any selective value. For proper investigation of this point we should compare statistics of age and mortality of different localities and periods uninfluenced by any greatly abnormal disturbing factor such as influenza and immigration. Unfortunately we have no such clear statistics. I can find no evidence in Assam of correlation between the variations of infant mortality and later mortality. Subsidiary Table IX gives recorded death-rates for the usual age groups by average for the decade, and in certain years of high and low mortality. It will be seen that as the rate for children aged 0-5 rises and falls, so do the rates at the other ages, old people included; apparently in rural communities with no overcrowding, infantile diseases have not the same relative effect that they have in great towns, and those diseases which fall on young and old alike are the chief factors. The different mortality rates of the sexes will be noticed in the next chapter. Here it may be noticed as matter for congratulation that the death-rate for children aged 0-5 has fallen considerably since the last census from 79 to 76 for males and from 72 to 65 per mille in the case of females. For all other age periods, except at 15-20, the rate has increased. This was to be expected as a consequence of the influenza epidemic.

For those aged 15-20 the male rate remains the same, 17, and the female rate has decreased from 22 to 21 per mille. The decrease in the birth-rate, noticeable especially in the Surma Valley, and the decrease in the number of young children, appear to be only temporary.

Later age periods.

85. Subsidiary Table IX shows again how serious a toll was taken by influenza in 1918 and 1919 from the people of all ages, but especially at the middle periods of life. The year 1919 was worse than 1918 for all, but here the aged suffered more than the young. The death-rates of 22 and 25 per mille aged 20-40 for males and females shown for 1918 are probably much lower than the actual; registration itself suffered on account of influenza. The first three months of 1919 seem to have been the worst period for influenza, and after this malaria prevailed strongly. The death-rates for those of 60 and over in 1919 rose to 116 and 96 for males and females, respectively; the rate for the period 20-40 was nearly double of the average for the decade at those ages. The figures for 1920 have been included in the table to show the recovery which took place at all ages.

There is a general increase in the proportion of old men and decrease in that of old women living. I am unable to suggest a reason for this.

Mortality from certain diseases.

86. In Subsidiary Table X, death-rates for certain diseases are shown. Fevers of course take the highest place, as various diseases, including malaria and much influenza, are included in that head. Unfortunately, owing to variations in diagnosis, influenza death-rates cannot be shown separately. By calculating from excesses over the quinquennial averages for fever and respiratory diseases and other causes, in addition to the specific head influenza where recorded, the Director of Public Health estimated roughly the deaths due to influenza as 106,000 in 1918 and 440,000 in the first three months of 1919. The total, 150,000, is about 2·5 per cent. of the population under registration, for the period of the epidemic up to the end of March 1919. In most of the hill districts where there is no registration of vital statistics and little medical treatment, influenza fell heavily, and we must probably add at least 40,000 more deaths to the above figures. Thus the pandemic is estimated to have caused directly nearly 200,000 deaths. Its effect on births was less apparent, though certain. The recorded provincial crude birth-rates in 1919 and 1920 were 30·5 and 31·5, against an average of 32·8 for the five previous years. This means a deficit of about 25 to 30,000 births due to influenza, if that be regarded as the only disturbing factor. There were, however, other disturbing factors, notably malaria following on the influenza epidemic in 1919; also the generally diminished vitality in the Surma Valley due to local troubles already discussed. In any case, the fall in the birth-rate following influenza was not so great as in some other provinces. It must also be noted that a considerable number of the recorded deaths from influenza were among newly imported famine-stricken coolies in 1918.

The deaths recorded as due to *kala-azar* in the ten years are 17,551 and the returns of the last three years show that there is some increase in the disease. The Sanitary Commissioner wrote in 1921—" The actual death returns do not give a true idea of what is happening. A very large number of deaths from *kala-azar* are undoubtedly returned under the heading of " Fevers " or classified from the terminal complications of Pneumonia and Dysentery which are frequent." At the request of the Department the agency of the census was used to obtain an idea of the number of patients suffering from *kala-azar*: the sum of the numbers returned by the enumerators from all blocks was 7,661. This is probably a good deal less than the real number as the census agency was not a professional one, and could not be expected to diagnose properly in all cases. However, the measures taken by the Government and the Public Health Department are expected to render a recurrence of the heavy mortality of the decade 1891-1901 unlikely.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Age distribution of 100,000 *of each sex by annual age periods.*

Age.	Male.			Female.			Age.	Male.			Female.		
	Hindu.	Musalman.	Both religions.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Both religions.		Hindu.	Musalman.	Both religions.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Both religions.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
TOTAL	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000							
0 ...	2,956	2,768	2,908	2,765	2,843	2,790	51 ...	149	61	124	157	43	115
1 ...	1,765	1,415	1,664	2,013	1,447	1,852	52 ...	551	258	466	555	204	455
2 ...	2,852	2,915	2,869	2,995	3,104	3,026	53 ...	151	72	132	117	48	97
3 ...	3,102	3,100	3,102	3,376	3,618	3,442	54 ...	210	72	169	188	66	153
4 ...	3,033	3,240	3,093	2,847	3,640	3,144	55 ...	906	865	958	807	677	743
5 ...	3,755	4,010	3,829	3,586	4,250	3,776	56 ...	347	158	292	246	79	199
6 ...	3,171	3,728	3,335	3,017	4,121	3,331	57 ...	193	100	165	184	50	145
7 ...	3,170	3,572	3,289	3,404	4,020	3,581	58 ...	485	215	407	444	191	366
8 ...	4,175	5,265	4,493	4,131	4,935	4,358	59 ...	140	48	113	140	39	111
9 ...	1,932	2,356	2,056	2,277	2,290	2,282	60 ...	2,252	2,120	2,212	2,564	2,054	2,435
10 ...	4,020	5,491	4,386	3,162	4,387	3,511	61 ...	80	37	67	75	32	63
11 ...	1,328	1,297	1,319	1,636	1,338	1,552	62 ...	216	122	188	310	113	254
12 ...	4,211	5,010	4,444	2,586	3,357	2,804	63 ...	78	24	62	58	16	46
13 ...	1,153	979	1,101	1,190	812	1,094	64 ...	81	33	67	82	11	63
14 ...	2,016	2,178	2,064	1,564	1,753	1,618	65 ...	388	356	442	366	204	321
15 ...	1,951	2,107	1,995	1,683	1,804	1,717	66 ...	57	24	48	76	21	60
16 ...	2,070	2,372	2,159	1,125	2,491	2,085	67 ...	105	24	82	146	30	113
17 ...	880	729	835	1,037	788	966	68 ...	124	43	101	177	43	137
18 ...	2,336	2,510	2,387	2,512	2,986	2,647	69 ...	45	13	36	37	5	28
19 ...	729	431	643	829	609	767	70 ...	744	707	733	730	512	667
20 ...	2,713	3,240	2,866	3,094	5,041	4,292	71 ...	21	2	15	7	2	6
21 ...	606	332	568	657	518	618	72 ...	79	26	63	61	16	63
22 ...	1,580	1,549	1,571	1,880	2,165	1,962	73 ...	13	6	11	3	...	2
23 ...	725	469	650	889	532	787	74 ...	15	4	12		5	3
24 ...	790	610	738	839	663	789	75 ...	205	143	187	116	93	109
25 ...	3,314	3,975	3,507	4,266	5,756	4,702	76 ...	16	2	13	99	9	74
26 ...	888	760	850	1,170	807	1,067	77 ...	19	2	14	12	2	9
27 ...	1,116	861	1,041	1,200	809	1,069	78 ...	57	15	45	29	7	23
28 ...	1,783	1,508	1,704	1,733	1,525	1,674	79 ...	30	4	22	13	7	12
29 ...	568	354	505	697	384	608	80 ...	361	418	377	494	302	440
30 ...	4,116	4,860	4,333	5,240	5,871	5,420	81 ...	5	...	4	2	...	1
31 ...	316	135	263	635	166	499	82 ...	20	11	18	23	5	17
32 ...	1,640	1,386	1,565	1,248	1,014	1,182	83 ...	2	2	2	6	...	5
33 ...	442	252	386	478	191	398	84 ...	7	...	5	5	2	4
34 ...	604	321	521	656	216	531	85 ...	39	40	39	25	25	26
35 ...	3,047	3,873	3,269	2,792	3,197	2,908	86 ...	1	...	1	3	...	2
36 ...	890	506	778	613	423	560	87 ...	3	2	3	5	2	4
37 ...	553	408	496	392	238	348	88 ...	12	2	9	3	5	3
38 ...	1,336	870	1,201	1,034	604	913	89 ...	7	2	5	2	5	3
39 ...	478	245	410	387	179	329	90 ...	48	80	57	57	45	54
40 ...	4,424	4,434	4,428	3,905	4,363	4,102	91 ...	5	...	4	...	...	...
41 ...	210	128	186	295	57	228	92 ...	1	2	1	...	2	1
42 ...	785	523	708	706	379	614	93 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
43 ...	241	87	196	357	91	281	94 ...	4	..	3	1	2	1
44 ...	258	141	224	183	120	166	95 ...	7	9	8	5	7	6
45 ...	2,225	2,245	2,231	1,741	1,581	1,697	96 ...	3	...	2	...	2	1
46 ...	264	150	227	259	91	212	97 ...	3	4	4	2	...	1
47 ...	333	171	286	248	91	203	98 ...	1	2	1	2	2	2
48 ...	862	486	752	703	361	606	99 ...	...	...	...	3	5	3
49 ...	200	100	170	203	59	163	100 and over.	30	54	37	34	25	32
50 ...	3,640	3,344	3,563	3,341	2,951	3,231							

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Age distribution of 10,000 *of each sex in the Province and each Natural Division.*

Age.	1921.		1911.		1901.		1891.		Age	1921.		1911.		1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASSAM ...	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**
0—1 ...	288	306	336	359	349	373	339	368	0—5 ...	1,373	1,530	1,526	1,736	1,476	1,665	1,545	1,756
1—2 ...	154	171	177	196	174	191	182	203	5—10 ...	1,573	1,700	1,528	1,614	1,495	1,551	1,470	1,581
2—3 ...	264	301	316	356	301	337	324	366	10—15 ...	1,130	1,031	1,014	919	1,045	923	1,069	934
3—4 ...	298	344	334	379	303	339	339	383	15—20 ...	741	844	708	779	687	772	717	782
4—5 ...	302	337	329	358	303	329	332	364	20—40 ...	3,218	3,260	3,306	3,328	3,421	3,434	3,209	3,285
5—10 ...	1,602	1,695	1,563	1,624	1,516	1,564	1,506	1,564	40—60 ...	1,609	1,253	1,567	1,255	1,547	1,298	1,566	1,322
10—15 ...	1,206	1,056	1,067	927	1,128	965	1,140	969	60 and over ...	356	332	351	369	329	357	404	440
15—20 ...	792	910	751	856	751	881	747	851	*Mean age* ...	*24·0*	*23·2*	*23·8*	*22·3*	...	...	*23·7*	*22·6*
20—25 ...	721	910	741	925	758	977	757	928	**SURMA VALLEY.**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**
25—30 ...	892	948	923	976	957	995	882	928	0—5 ...	1,176	1,310	1,420	1,571	1,343	1,475	1,455	1,611
									5—10 ...	1,676	1,784	1,602	1,696	1,550	1,634	1,563	1,643
30—35 ...	817	804	853	817	896	833	865	835	10—15 ...	1,308	1,068	1,112	991	1,232	1,008	1,228	1,006
35—40 ...	707	546	711	541	708	527	673	506	15—20 ...	823	954	772	908	810	983	778	912
40—45 ...	613	523	612	521	621	547	623	557	20—40 ...	3,107	3,238	3,245	3,283	3,282	3,277	3,134	3,144
45—50 ...	381	284	362	276	337	263	324	242									
50—55 ...	394	342	380	344	371	351	390	352									
									40—60 ...	1,494	1,250	1,434	1,226	1,370	1,205	1,365	1,170
									60 and over ...	416	336	415	415	413	418	477	505
55—60 ...	161	131	154	130	143	121	136	109	*Mean age* ...	*23·8*	*22·5*	*23·6*	*22·5*	...	...	*23·2*	*22·3*
60—65 ...	209	206	210	221													
65—70 ...	58	51	53	51	384	407	442	475	**HILLS** ...	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**
70 and over	141	135	138	143					0—5 ...	1,426	1,448	1,608	1,610	1,573	1,571	1,710	1,715
									5—10 ...	1,495	1,443	1,485	1,446	1,475	1,380	1,382	1,303
Mean age ...	*23·9*	*22·6*	*23·7*	*22·6*	*23·5*	*22·6*	*23·5*	*22·5*	10—15 ...	1,194	1,106	1,097	1,028	1,050	956	1,024	949
									15—20 ...	893	1,012	830	933	765	892	736	878
									20—40 ...	2,922	2,964	2,915	2,986	3,098	3,197	3,242	3,283
									40—60 ...	1,493	1,443	1,542	1,448	1,568	1,475	1,458	1,384
									60 and over ...	578	584	523	551	471	529	448	488
									Mean age ...	*24·2*	*23·7*	*23·9*	*23·8*	...	...	*23·5*	*23·4*

NOTE—The mean age has been calculated on the crude figures.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Age distribution of 10,000 *of each sex in each main religion.*

(1) Hindu.

Age.	1921.		1911.		1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
TOTAL	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0—5	1,235	1,392	1,375	1,545	1,308	1,461	1,378	1,563
5—10	1,500	1,628	1,467	1,563	1,401	1,474	1,424	1,513
10—15	1,154	1,038	1,022	912	1,090	938	1,110	936
15—20	786	870	748	820	754	845	768	826
20—40	3,268	3,306	3,403	3,391	3,538	3,519	3,324	3,331
40—60	1,663	1,367	1,600	1,351	1,543	1,351	1,560	1,347
60 and over	394	399	385	418	366	412	436	484
Mean age	*24·6*	*23·3*	*24·1*	*23·3*	*24·3*	*23·3*	*24·2*	*23·3*

(2) Musalman.

TOTAL	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0—5	1,320	1,514	1,594	1,782	1,517	1,685	1,620	1,798
5—10	1,837	1,955	1,749	1,858	1,731	1,824	1,681	1,759
10—15	1,345	1,092	1,172	932	1,264	1,030	1,279	1,053
15—20	812	978	770	925	783	989	756	925
20—40	2,986	3,070	3,040	3,076	3,057	3,033	2,969	2,950
40—60	1,322	1,052	1,286	1,054	1,259	1,067	1,253	1,046
60 and over	378	330	389	373	389	372	442	469
Mean age	*22·5*	*20·9*	*22·3*	*20·9*	*22·1*	*20·8*	*22·1*	*21·0*

(3) Animist.

TOTAL	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0—5	1,536	1,592	1,718	1,759	1,715	1,732	1,820	1,885
5—10	1,565	1,510	1,535	1,474	1,588	1,476	1,512	1,427
10—15	1,118	1,027	1,039	954	1,047	948	1,012	939
15—20	751	895	719	850	687	834	659	810
20—40	2,919	3,118	2,938	3,135	2,954	3,181	2,990	3,154
40—60	1,589	1,379	1,573	1,356	1,566	1,380	1,540	1,327
60 and over	522	479	478	472	443	449	467	458
Mean age	*24·1*	*22·1*	*23·6*	*23·0*	*23·2*	*22·8*	*23·3*	*22·5*

NOTE.—The mean ages have been calculated on the crude figures.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Age distribution of 1,000 *of each sex in certain castes.*

Caste.	Males, number per mille aged					Females, number per mille aged				
	0—5.	5—12.	12—15.	15—40.	40 and over.	0—5.	5—12.	12—15.	15—40.	40 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
[illegible]	153	215	68	387	177	170	222	59	394	155
[illegible]	136	192	69	399	204	165	235	69	373	158
[illegible]	114	168	74	422	222	130	180	56	427	207
[illegible]mali	109	135	74	415	267	117	184	58	422	219
[illegible]man	123	183	67	413	214	145	200	61	409	185
[illegible]ya (Hindu)	161	210	64	390	195	164	232	7	378	169
[illegible]ba	108	179	73	411	229	105	180	66	444	205
[illegible]ia	90	162	64	450	234	120	190	52	455	183
Ichari (Hindu)	179	209	60	364	188	183	226	57	376	158
Ichari (Animist)	181	221	56	364	178	197	216	51	383	153
Kalita	140	207	75	371	207	157	232	62	370	179
Kamar	124	217	72	393	194	133	207	66	442	152
Kayastha	106	178	66	428	220	131	207	60	409	193
Kewat	141	211	76	368	204	159	227	65	382	167
Koch	147	210	73	376	194	170	224	58	377	171
Kumhar	122	178	77	390	224	148	188	66	395	203
Mahishya	113	203	65	417	202	144	206	41	426	183
Mali	96	185	69	428	222	106	189	61	441	203
Malo	79	165	57	498	301	100	180	50	499	162
Manipuri (Kshattriya)	133	203	76	392	196	135	209	70	384	202
Mikir	154	221	57	369	209	176	213	51	386	174
Nadiyal	150	211	69	379	191	169	229	55	393	154
Namasudra	98	190	69	429	214	113	192	56	449	190
Napit	112	190	73	408	217	121	209	65	409	196
Patni	99	184	69	434	214	119	182	60	443	196
Rajbansi	133	203	62	397	205	150	210	53	412	175
Sudra	108	192	73	423	204	120	208	55	405	212
Sutradhar	117	180	73	433	197	133	212	57	418	180
Tanti	111	184	63	450	192	136	180	56	478	150
Teli	111	180	73	414	222	118	188	54	428	212
Yogi	125	205	73	399	198	142	205	55	498	190

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV-A.

Proportion of children under 12 *and of persons over* 40 *to those aged* 15—40 *in certain castes; also of married females aged* 15—40 *per* 100 *females.*

Castes.	Proportion of children, both sexes, per 100		Proportion of persons over 40 per 100 aged 15—40.		Number of married females aged 15—40 per 100 females of all ages
	Persons aged 15—40.	Married females aged 15—40.	Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Ahom	97	278	46	39	29
Baidya	93	247	51	42	32
Barui	70	193	53	49	32
Bhuinmali	65	155	65	52	35
Brahman	79	221	52	45	32
Chutiya (Hindu)	100	283	51	45	27
Dhoba	67	193	56	46	31
Goala	61	179	52	40	36
Kachari (Hindu)	108	280	52	42	29
Kachari (Animist)	109	264	50	40	31
Kalita	99	271	56	48	29
Kamar	82	203	49	34	35
Kayastha	74	213	51	47	31
Kewat	98	260	55	44	30
Koch	100	271	52	45	29
Kumhar	79	229	56	53	29
Mahishya	79	236	49	43	30
Mali	36	175	52	46	34
Malo	53	178	40	32	33
Manipuri (Kshattriya)	88	240	50	53	28
Mikir	102	284	58	45	28
Nadiyal	98	268	50	39	30
Namasudra	67	184	50	42	34
Napit	77	209	53	48	31
Patni	66	194	50	44	31
Rajbansi	86	238	52	43	31
Sudra	76	218	48	52	30
Sutradhar	75	216	46	43	31
Tanti	66	165	43	31	38
Teli	71	195	54	50	32
Yogi	84	229	50	47	30

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Proportion of children under 10 *and of persons* 60 *and over to those aged* 15—40 ; *also of married females aged* 15—40 *per* 100 *females.*

District and Natural Division.	Proportion of children both sexes per 100						Proportion of persons 60 and over per 100 aged 15—40.						Number of married females aged 15—40 per 100 females of all ages.		
	Persons aged 15—40.			Married females aged 15—40.			1921.		1911.		1901.				
	1921.	1911.	1901.	1921.	1911.	1901.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	1921.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
ASSAM	75	78	73	196	199	193	10	10	10	10	9	10	32	33	32
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	77	79	74	204	202	198	9		9	9	8	8	32	33	33
Goalpara	84	86	85	212	218	223	11	10	11	12	12	13	34	33	31
Kamrup	85	90	90	216	218	216	11	11	11	12	10	11	31	31	31
Darrang	69	68	67	182	178	179	7	7	7	7	6	6	34	35	34
Nowgong	83	88	77	222	229	224	11	10	10	11	8	10	30	30	28
Sibsagar	74	74	67	201	195	185	8	6	8	7	7	6	32	33	34
Lakhimpur	69	67	59	187	177	170	7	5	6	6	5	5	33	36	36
Sadiya	61	...	...	200	...	...	6	6	...	...	...	...	31	...	...
Balipara	30	...	...	140	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	42	...	...
SURMA VALLEY	73	77	73	183	190	186	11	9	10	10	10	10	34	34	33
Cachar Plains	75	75	67	188	186	172	11	10	10	9	9	8	33	35	35
Sylhet	73	77	74	182	191	189	11	9	10	10	11	10	34	34	33
HILLS	75	82	72	211	215	199	15	15	14	14	11	13	27	28	30
Garo Hills	80	82	85	185	186	191	16	9	16	10	13	9	36	36	35
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	74	76	71	215	213	204	10	11	11	14	9	11	27	28	28
North Cachar	64	68	30	206	200	156	9	10	9	9	3	6	29	31	35
Naga Hills	72	77	64	235	221	177	27	26	18	17	11	11	22	26	31
Lushai Hills	62	65	68	211	216	216	13	15	12	14	11	13	23	23	25
Manipur	78	88	82	217	232	209	15	16	14	15	16	17	26	27	29

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V-A.

Proportion of children under 10 *and of persons* 60 *and over to those aged* 15—40 ; *also of married females aged* 15—40 *per* 100 *females ; in certain religions.*

Religion and Natural Division.	Proportion of children both sexes per 100						Proportion of persons 60 and over per 100 aged 15—40.						Number of married females aged 15—40 per 100 females of all ages.		
	Persons aged 15—40.			Married females aged 15—40			1921.		1911.		1901.				
	1921.	1911.	1901.	1921.	1911.	1901.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	1921.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
ASSAM—															
ALL RELIGIONS	75	78	73	196	199	193	10	10	10	10	9	10	32	33	32
Hindu	70	71	65	192	188	179	10	10	9	10	9	9	32	33	33
Musalman	84	89	86	200	209	209	10	8	10	9	10	9	35	35	33
Animist	81	85	85	216	217	216	14	12	13	12	12	11	29	30	30
Christian	66	71	65	203	195	179	8	9	8	9	6	7	27	31	33
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY—															
ALL RELIGIONS	77	79	74	204	202	198	9	8	9	9	8	8	32	33	33
Hindu	74	75	69	200	195	187	9	8	8	9	7	8	32	33	33
Musalman	86	90	88	207	216	218	10	8	10	11	10	12	35	34	33
Animist	79	92	103	201	223	240	9	7	10	9	11	10	34	32	35
SURMA VALLEY—															
ALL RELIGIONS	73	77	73	183	190	186	11	9	10	10	10	10	34	34	33
Hindu	62	64	60	166	171	165	11	11	10	11	10	11	33	33	33
Musalman	84	90	87	194	207	208	10	8	10	9	11	9	34	35	33
HILLS—															
ALL RELIGIONS	75	82	72	211	215	199	15	15	14	14	11	13	27	28	30
Hindu	75	88	86	207	228	216	12	15	13	16	15	18	28	28	30
Animist	77	80	74	215	212	196	19	16	16	14	13	12	27	28	29
Christian	66	76	70	222	207	193	7	10	9	11	7	7	24	29	29

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Variation in population at certain age periods.

District and Natural Division.	Period.	Variation per cent. in population (increase + decrease —).					
		All ages	0—10.	10—15.	15—40.	40—60.	60 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ASSAM ...	1891-1901	+ 5·9	+ 2·8	+ 5·7	+ 10·8	+ 5·4	— 11·3
	1901-1911	+ 15·2	+ 19·8	+ 9·8	+ 12·6	+ 16·4	+ 18·8
	1911-1921	+ 13·2	+ 8·5	+ 28·4	+ 12·5	+ 15·4	+ 11·2
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.	1891-1901	+ 5·8	+ 3·8	+ 3·9	+ 10·6	+ 3·5	— 13·8
	1901-1911	+ 18·7	+ 22·8	+ 16·5	+ 15·9	+ 17·9	+ 24·6
	1911-1921	+ 24·0	+ 20·5	+ 36·0	+ 23·1	+ 43·2	+ 18·9
Goalpara ...	1891-1901	+ 2·0	+ 5·5	+ 1·0	+ 2·8	— 0·1	— 15·4
	1901-1911	+ 29·9	+ 31·3	+ 28·3	+ 30·6	+ 27·7	+ 25·6
	1911-1921	+ 26·9	+ 25·7	+ 37·1	+ 28·6	+ 23·2	+ 12·1
Kamrup ...	1891-1901	— 7·1	— 2·9	— 11·7	— 6·9	— 9·0	— 21·0
	1901-1911	+ 13·3	+ 13·5	+ 8·7	+ 13·3	+ 13·5	+ 23·8
	1911-1921	+ 14·2	+ 9·8	+ 27·3	+ 16·5	+ 10·7	+ 11·4
Darrang ...	1891-1901	+ 9·7	+ 6·3	+ 9·7	+ 16·5	+ 3·5	— 12·8
	1901-1911	+ 11·9	+ 12·6	+ 11·4	+ 11·6	+ 9·2	+ 24·9
	1911-1921	+ 27·0	+ 24·2	+ 41·8	+ 22·9	+ 32·4	+ 29·0
Nowgong ...	1891-1901	— 24·8	— 28·6	— 24·5	— 19·1	— 23·9	— 45·8
	1901-1911	— 16·2	+ 26·7	+ 8·6	+ 10·8	+ 11·2	+ 27·9
	1911-1921	+ 31·9	+ 23·4	+ 59·5	+ 31·0	+ 30·1	+ 29·0
Sibsagar ...	1891-1901	+ 24·4	+ 17·6	+ 27·3	+ 29·4	+ 23·9	+ 22·5
	1901-1911	+ 15·4	+ 22·2	+ 13·4	+ 10·9	+ 17·0	+ 14·0
	1911-1921	+ 19·1	+ 17·0	+ 32·6	+ 16·6	+ 22·0	+ 15·4
Lakhimpur ...	1891-1901	+ 26·3	+ 35·7	+ 31·3	+ 18·2	+ 29·3	+ 43·1
	1901-1911	+ 11·5	+ 12·8	+ 19·3	+ 13·7	+ 2·9	— 4·1
	1911-1921	+ 30·3	+ 22·1	+ 43·1	+ 19·1	+ 40·6	+ 29·2
SURMA VALLEY.	1891-1901	+ 5·3	+ 1·4	+ 6·1	+ 9·7	+ 6·5	— 10·3
	1901-1911	+ 10·8	+ 15·4	— 0·9	+ 9·5	+ 14·6	+ 10·2
	1911-1921	+ 3·4	— 2·4	+ 22·0	+ 2·3	+ 6·7	+ 1·1
Cachar Plains	1891-1901	+ 12·9	+ 7·5	+ 20·6	+ 14·9	+ 14·4	+ 6·2
	1901-1911	+ 13·4	+ 22·0	— 1·4	+ 9·2	+ 16·8	+ 25·9
	1911-1921	+ 6·4	+ 2·2	+ 8·6	+ 2·5	+ 9·7	+ 16·5
Sylhet ...	1891-1901	+ 4·6	+ 10·4	+ 3·9	+ 8·8	+ 5·1	— 12·5
	1901-1911	+ 2·7	+ 114·3	— 0·9	+ 9·5	+ 14·1	+ 7·8
	1911-1921	+ 2·7	— 3·2	+ 20·4	+ 2·3	+ 6·1	— 0·6
HILLS ...	1891-1901	+ 11·2	+ 4·8	+ 12·9	+ 17·7	+ 10·9	— 4·6
	1901-1911	+ 18·5	+ 23·8	+ 27·2	+ 12·0	+ 18·7	+ 29·3
	1911-1921	+ 8·3	+ 2·5	+ 17·4	+ 9·7	+ 6·8	+ 18·0
Garo Hills ...	1891-1901	+ 13·7	+ 17·8	+ 21·0	+ 12·3	+ 4·4	+ 8·7
	1901-1911	+ 14·9	+ 11·6	+ 15·6	+ 15·1	+ 14·7	+ 38·7
	1911-1921	+ 12·7	+ 12·2	+ 7·5	+ 16·1	+ 7·8	+ 11·7
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	1891-1901	+ 2·2	— 1·8	+ 7·4	+ 9·2	— 1·1	— 24·7
	1901-1911	+ 16·2	+ 22·2	+ 0·9	+ 3·2	+ 17·2	+ 43·1
	1911-1921	+ 3·5	— ·01	+ 28·6	+ 2·5	+ 2·9	— 14·9
North Cachar Hills.	1891-1901	+ 67·9	+ 21·0	+ 53·9	+ 193·1	+ 126·1	+ 3·2
	1901-1911	— 33·1	+ 10·4	— 2·1	— 50·8	— 36·0	+ 0·3
	1911-1921	— 2·0	— 8·3	+ 9·8	— 2·8	+ 2·1	+ 6·4
Naga Hills...	1891-1901	+ 5·9	— 2·6	+ 5·7	+ 3·2	+ 22·7	+ 36·5
	1901-1911	+ 46·1	+ 54·7	+ 78·9	+ 27·5	+ 47·5	+ 90·1
	1911-1921	+ 6·6	— 2·6	+ 16·1	+ 3·9	+ 7·9	+ 79·9
Lushai Hills	1891-1901	+ 88·9	...	...	...	...	...
	1901-1911	+ 10·6	+ 3·9	+ 27·0	+ 5·8	+ 14·7	+ 15·9
	1911-1921	+ 7·9	+ 4·6	+ 15·7	+ 8·5	+ 3·7	+ 15·8
Manipur ...	1891-1901	...	...	...	...	...	...
	1901-1911	+ 21·7	+ 18·0	+ 43·3	+ 18·4	+ 11·5	+ 4·8
	1911-1921	+ 10·3	+ 2·1	+ 16·6	+ 16·1	+ 9·3	+ 21·9

NOTE.—Sadiya and Balipara Frontier Tracts have been omitted, as figures for the previous censuses are not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Reported birth-rate by sex and Natural Divisions.

Year.	Number of births per 1,000 of total population (Census of 1911).					
	Province.		Brahmaputra Valley.		Surma Valley.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1911 ...	16	15	16	15	17	16
1912 ...	17	16	16	15	17	16
1913 ...	17	16	17	16	17	16
1914 ...	17	16	17	16	17	15
1915 ...	17	16	17	16	18	16
1916 ...	16	15	17	16	15	14
1917 ...	16	15	17	16	15	14
1918 ...	18	17	18	17	18	17
1919 ...	16	15	17	16	15	14
1920 ...	16	15	18	17	15	14

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.

Reported death-rate by sex and Natural Divisions.

Year.	Number per 1,000 of total population of each sex (Census 1911).					
	Province.		Brahmaputra Valley.		Surma Valley.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1911 ...	23	24	23	24	24	23
1912 ...	25	25	27	27	24	22
1913 ...	28	27	26	26	30	29
1914 ...	25	24	28	27	22	21
1915 ...	31	30	31	30	32	31
1916 ...	29	28	32	31	27	25
1917 ...	28	26	30	29	25	25
1918 ...	46	46	51	52	42	40
1919 ...	51	49	48	47	54	52
1920 ...	31	27	31	29	29	26

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.

Reported death-rate by sex and age in decade and in selected years per mille living at same age according to the Census of 1911.

Age.	Average decade.		1914.		1918.		1919.		1920.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ALL AGES	31	31	25	24	46	46	51	49	31	27
0—5 ...	76	65	68	57	98	87	99	88	67	54
5—10 ...	17	14	11	9	26	24	31	28	15	13
10—15 ...	14	14	10	9	23	23	26	26	14	13
15—20 ...	17	21	12	15	29	35	31	37	17	18
20—40 ...	21	25	15	17	22	25	39	44	21	22
40—60 ...	37	32	28	26	53	45	61	52	39	31
60 and over	77	61	63	50	99	76	116	96	77	59

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.

Reported deaths from certain diseases per mille of each sex.

Age.	Whole Province.					Actual number of deaths in			
	Actual number of deaths.			Ratio per mille of each sex.		Brahmaputra Valley.		Surma Valley.	
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Cholera—									
1911	7,475	3,952	3,523	1·2	1·2	868	837	3,084	2,686
1912	14,303	7,356	6,947	2·3	2·3	4,822	4,807	2.534	2,140
1913	16,407	8,624	7,783	2·7	2·8	2,814	2,628	5,810	5,155
1914	9,270	4,884	4,386	1·6	1·5	3,575	3,345	1,309	1,041
1915	26,979	14,194	12,785	4·5	4·4	6,717	6,287	7,477	6,498
1916	13,099	6,822	6,277	2·2	2·2	5,347	5,085	1,475	1,192
1917	10,953	5,580	5,373	1·8	1·8	4,590	4,608	990	765
1918	14,077	7,460	6,617	2·4	2·3	1,768	1,599	5,692	5,018
1919	33,980	17,854	16,126	5·7	5·5	7,912	8,099	9,912	8,027
1920	2,421	1,348	1,073	·4	·4	521	413	827	660
Smallpox—									
1911	1,779	886	893	·2	·3	693	734	193	159
1912	4,696	2,536	2,160	·8	·7	1,142	1,087	1,394	1,073
1913	2,794	1,526	1,268	·5	·4	907	716	619	552
1914	2,575	1,407	1,168	·5	·4	1,229	986	178	182
1915	4,076	2,256	1,820	·7	·6	2,152	1,750	104	70
1916	3,321	1,786	1,535	·6	·5	1,277	1,107	509	428
1917	4,116	2,311	1,805	·7	·6	1,001	768	1,310	1,037
1918	2,447	1,338	1,109	·4	·4	1,039	909	299	200
1919	1,432	772	660	·2	·2	528	484	244	176
1920	1,700	1,014	686	·3	·2	325	216	689	470
Fever—									
1911	80,804	42,024	38,780	1·3	1·2	25,196	23,865	16,828	14.915
1912	78,318	41,504	36,814	13·2	12·6	25,754	23,615	15,750	13,199
1913	87,359	46,451	40,908	14·8	14·1	27,026	23,960	19,125	16,948
1914	83,199	44 339	38,860	14·1	13·3	28,214	24,788	16,125	14,072
1915	91,739	48,715	43,024	15·5	14·8	28,228	24,835	20,487	18,189
1916	96,963	51,814	45,149	16·5	15·5	30,184	26,262	21,630	18.887
1917	95,518	51,008	44,510	16·2	15·3	29,926	26,281	21,082	18,279
1918	158,892	84,397	74,495	26·9	25·6	52,718	47,521	31,679	26,974
1919	154,435	82,455	71,980	26·3	24·7	39,621	34,107	42,834	37,873
1920	112,437	61,877	50,560	19·7	17·4	33,847	27,798	28,030	22,762

CHAPTER VI.

SEX.

Reference to statistics.

87. The statistics of sex by districts for six censuses are contained in Imperial Table II. The distribution by sex for different ages and the main religions are in Imperial Table VII. From these two tables and from Imperial Table XIV (Civil condition by age and caste) the comparative and proportionate figures in Subsidiary Tables I to IV of this chapter have been prepared. Subsidiary Tables V and VI are made from recorded vital statistics.

In past years, arguing from the great difference in sex constitution between the populations of India and of Western countries, certain critics have impugned the accuracy of the Indian census figures of sex. The criticism was shown to be unfounded and it received its deathblow at the 1911 census.

There was never any reason to doubt the Assam figures, since reasons for concealment of sex do not exist. It may be taken that the total numbers of females and males returned at the 1921 census are perfectly accurate, as were the 1911 figures. The figures for sex at different ages, however, cannot pretend to accuracy. In Chapter VI have discussed fully the causes of inaccuracy in the age returns and the disturbance of the statistics by immigration.

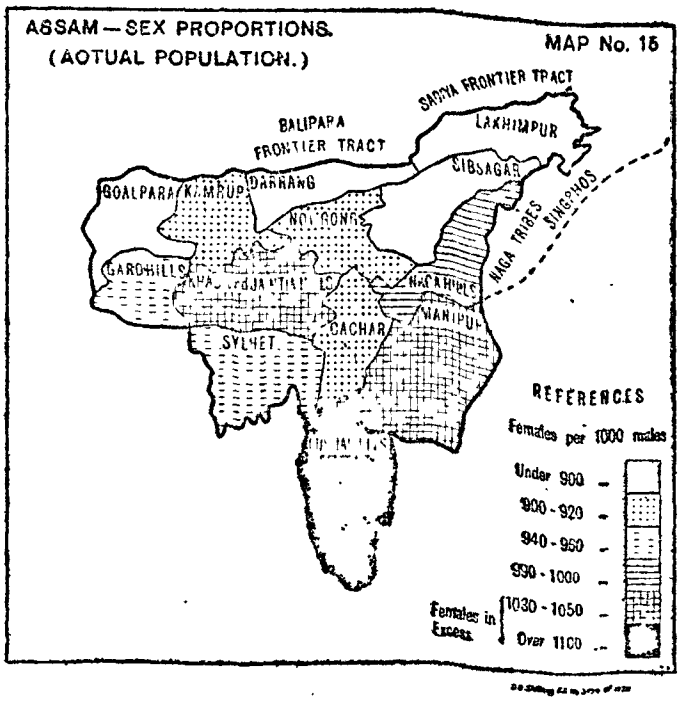
For the total population age does not enter ; and we can eliminate to a great extent the effect of migration by considering only the natural population, but for sex-proportions at different age periods it is not possible to do so. In the discussion that follows it must be remembered that the numbers in the age-periods are of more value for comparative purposes than as absolute data and also that immigration is an appreciable factor in raising the number of males, chiefly in the middle ages of life, as against females.

The number of male immigrants censused was 720,000 ; the number of females 570,000, the proportion of foreign-born females to males being only 79 per cent.

Sex proportions—general.

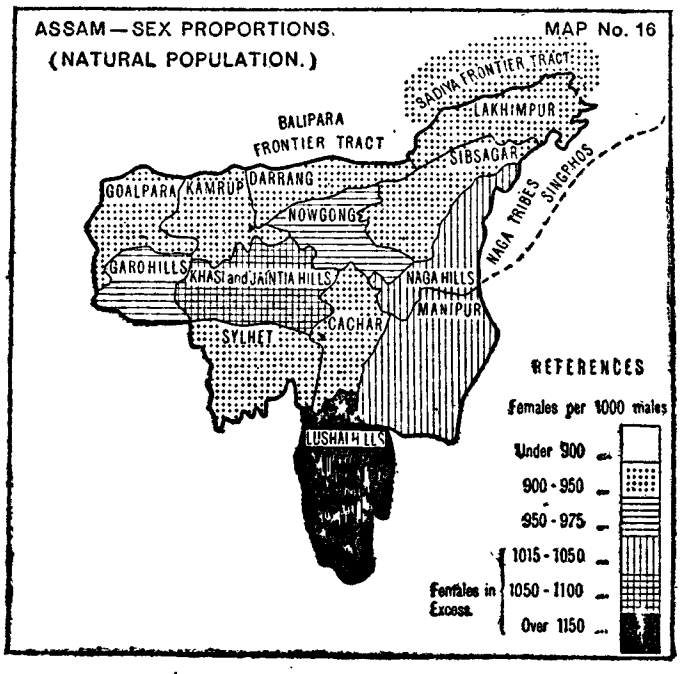
88. The proportion of females to 1,000 males in the total population of Assam was 940 in 1911 and is now only 926. The statement in the margin shows that the proportion is less than those for all India or for Bengal and Burma, our neighbours on the west and east. A glance at map No. 15 or at Subsidiary Table I will show that it is least in the districts where immigration is greatest.

Number of females per 1,000 males.	
Assam	926
Brahmaputra Valley	*892*
Surma Valley	*937*
Hills	*1,023*
India	945
Bengal	932
Burma	955
Central Provinces and Berar ...	1,002
North-Western Frontier Province.	848
England and Wales (1911) ...	1,068
Japan (1911)	979



Since 1911 the ratio has decreased only slightly in the Surma Valley and the Hills, while a drop of 21 females per 1,000 males occurs in the Brahmaputra Valley ; this appears to be due partly to the heavy immigration into that division and partly to the general fall in the sex-ratio everywhere in the plains. The fall in the proportion of females has appeared at each census since 1881, except in 1901 when a slight rise occured.

Turning to the figures for natural population, we find that in plains districts without exception there is a deficit of females, while in all the hill districts except the Garo Hills they are in excess. The causes of the proportions will be discussed below (paragraph 92). Since 1911 the ratio of females to males has fallen in all the plains districts and has risen in all the hill districts except the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. In 1911 there was a slight fall in the proportion for the whole province, though the Surma Valley showed a rise since the census of 1901 It is difficult to find reasons for the continued fall in the present decade. It is doubtful if it can be attributed only to influenza discriminating against women, for on this theory it is hard to account for the rise in females among the natural population of the Naga Hills, where influenza was especially severe ; moreover, statistics of births and deaths (Subsidiary Tables VII and VIII of Chapter V) do not support it. The female birth rate was, as usual, lower than the male rate, but so also was the female death rate generally lower than that for males. The vital statistics, however, are so inaccurate, that sure conclusions cannot be drawn from them, and it is certainly possible that influenza and malaria have accounted for more female deaths than male.



Sex by religion and caste or tribe.

89. In the three main religions shown in Subsidiary Table II the proportions follow generally the territorial figures of the divisions where the religions predominate : excess of females among Animists, as in the Hills Division, defect of females among Hindus and Muhammadans slightly more pronounced for Hindus, as the defect is more in the Brahmaputra Valley than in the Surma Valley total actual population. The caste and tribal proportions set out in Subsidiary Table IV show that the Animists and recent converts to Hinduism in the plains generally conform to Hindu proportions, having their females in defect (*e.g.*, Kachari and Mech tribes). The races of the hills are clearly marked by their high proportions of females (*e.g.*, Khasi, Lushai, Kuki). The Kshattriyas with 1,031 females to 1,000 males represent chiefly Manipuri Hindus, whose customs with regard to women are not greatly different from those of Animists. For the ordinary Hindu castes in Subsidiary Table IV it is scarcely safe to attempt any conclusions ; in the last report it was shown that there was a general tendency, with exceptions here and there, for the lower castes to show a greater proportion of females than for the higher castes. Although this tendency may be detected again by diligent search, the number of exceptions has grown, probably owing to the numerous caste movements for social betterment found at the time of the census. For instance, Nadiyals now have fewer females in proportion than have Kalitas ; Namasudras fewer than Sudras ; Goalas and Malos fewer than Brahmans. The Bhuimalis and Borias show excesses of females. Great numbers of these, however, returned themselves as Malis and Suts, respectively ; and both of these castes have males in excess.

Sex ratio at birth.

90. In all countries of the world more boys are born than girls. The cause of this has not been determined by science. The proportions vary and the factors influencing the variations have long been the subject of investigation by students of statistics. Nearly a century ago Hofacker propounded the theory that the sex proportion at birth was materially, if not mainly, affected by the relative ages of the parents, masculinity being greater where the father is older than the mother and less when the reverse is the case. Subsequent investigations in wider fields have discredited this theory. Recently de Jastrzebski has examined* a large number of recorded figures for different countries and peoples in the world and has arrived at certain conclusions, of which the

Country.	Number of female births per 1,000 male births.
ASSAM (1911-20)	937
Brahmaputra Valley	*944*
Surma Valley	*929*
Bengal	933
Burma	945
C. P. and Berar	955
N. W. F. Province	805
England and Wales (pre-war)...	962

* *The Sex Ratio at birth*, by S. de Jastrzebski.

following are the principal ones applicable to Assam: (1) Masculinity at birth is affected by race; (2) the effects of cross-breeding are doubtful; (3) masculinity is greater in rural than in urban populations; (4) masculinity is probably slightly greater in first than in subsequent births.

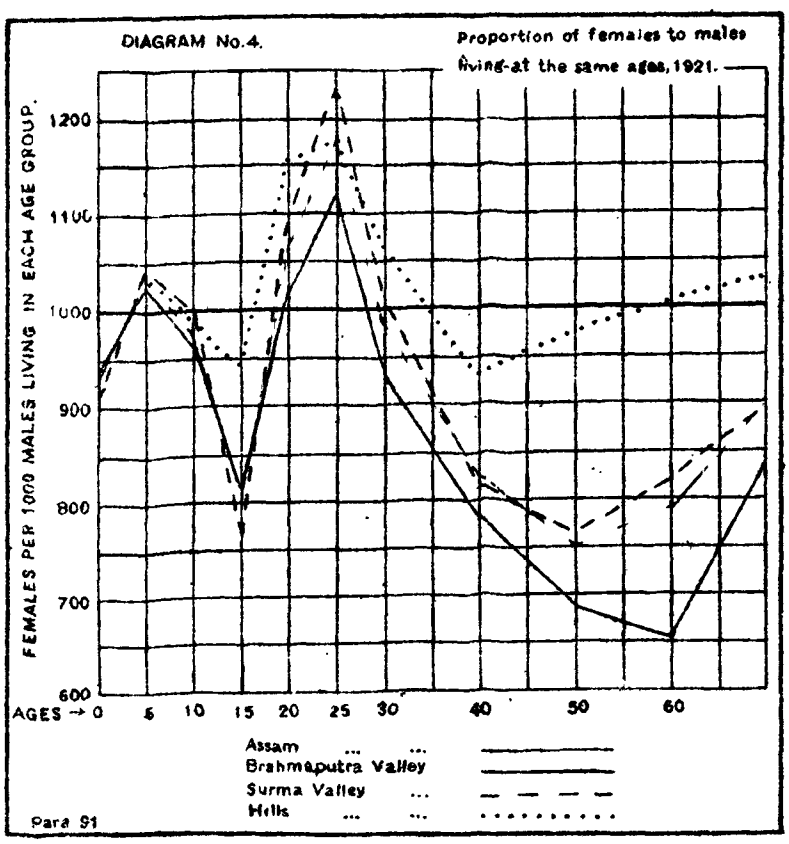
As to (1), Assam would be an excellent field for enquiry if birth statistics by race, or even by locality and religion for the hills were available. Unfortunately there is no record of race and none of religion in the birth statistics in registration areas; while in the hills registration is not in force, or in force only in such very small areas that no conclusions can be based on their statistics. It may be noted, however, that in the Brahmaputra Valley, where there are many people of Mongolian or Mongoloid races, and also far more tea garden coolies of aboriginal races from other parts of India than is the case in the Surma Valley, the ratio of female to male births exceeds that of the Surma Valley; so far as they go, therefore, our figures are not in conflict with the race-factor theory—we can scarcely say that they support it, since the data are few and other conditions such as climate and economic state may enter.

With regard to the third of the theories mentioned above, the towns of Assam are so little urban in their character that investigation into their comparative statistics would not repay the labour expended. The fourth theory needs special enquiries, which were not made in this province.

Sex proportion at different ages.

91. The excess of males at birth is soon removed by the higher infantile death rate, due to the greater delicacy of male children. In previous census years, as will be seen from the figures for the province in Subsidiary Table II, females appeared already in excess by the end of the first year of age. The 1921 figures show that, except among Animists, the numbers were not equalized until some time in the second year of life; the value of ages returned as 1 or 2 is, however, doubtful, and we can only conclude that the excess of deaths among male children reverses the birth-proportions at some age below two years. Thereafter, females continue in excess till 5, when they fall again and males predominate until the age period 15—20. From 15 to 25 females take the lead, but they lose it again before 30 and remain in considerable defect at all ages after 30.

In the natural divisions (see Subsidiary Table III), much divergence in the age distribution of the sexes appears. This is displayed graphically in the annexed diagram.



The hills have an excess of females at all ages except the groups 5—15 and 30—50. In the Brahmaputra Valley the deficit of women appears in exactly the same groups as for the province, but the proportion is much lower everywhere. This is due to immigration of Eastern Bengal settlers and Nepalese. In the Surma Valley, the female excess above 15 does not disappear till 30 years of age. The sex ratio is higher at nearly all ages than that of the Brahmaputra Valley; below 10 and at ages 20—25 it is even higher than in the Hills Division. The last result, however, appears to be due to a partiality of young Muhammadan women (or of their male relatives who gave the returns) for those ages.

The distribution of the sexes at different ages in the various indigenous castes and races reproduces the provincial results on the whole, but it is remarkable that among Brahmans and Telis the females appear never to catch up the males; in both these cases, however, the figures are somewhat disturbed by immigration.

Among Lushais males keep the lead up to 20 years of age, after which females predominate for the rest of life. Khasi women are less than men only from ages 12 to 15 and Manipuri Kshattriyas only from 12 to 20.

Reasons for the proportions.

92. The following six factors have been suggested as the chief in causing the low proportion of women to men in the population of India. These were discussed at length at last census*; it is only necessary here to consider which of them affect this province or are connected with the social and caste movements which have lately begun to affect the lives of women in classes previously untouched:—

The factors are (*a*) infanticide,

(*b*) neglect of female children,

(*c*) evil effects of early marriage and premature child-bearing,

(*d*) high birth rate and primitive methods of midwifery,

(*e*) hard treatment accorded to women, especially widows, and

(*f*) hard work done by women.

The first factor can be ruled out at once: infants are only known to be killed in certain cases where they are the offspring of illicit unions, and in such cases no discrimination against female infants has been noticed. The second was considered in 1911 to be a contributory cause by way rather of passive than active neglect, in that parents, especially among Hindus, are ready to lavish every care in the way of nourishment or medical attention on a boy in times of scarcity or sickness, whereas a girl has to take what she can get as her life is not deemed so valuable as a boy's. It may be that this occurs in some cases, but neglect of female children must be largely discounted by the practice of the bride-price which obtains among many castes and tribes in Assam. Further, our figures do not show it to be an important factor; soon after birth and up to the age of 5 years, females are in excess everywhere. From 5 to 10 the figures for Animists or for the Hills, where there is an excess of females in the total population, show a less proportion of females than do the other religions of the Surma Valley, and even from 10 to 15 the Hills still have the ratio in defect, though the defect in the other divisions is much more marked. Among several tribes where the practice of the bride-price prevails and we might expect great care to be taken of girls, we notice a deficit of female children between 5 and 12. For instance, Lushais have only 946 and Kewats only 961 females aged 5-12 to 1,000 males of the same ages; while among Kayasthas and Baidyas, with the dowry system, the proportions at the same ages are 994 and 1,056, respectively. I do not think, therefore, that this factor is at all comparable with (*c*) and (*d*), early marriage, premature and excessive child-bearing and primitive midwifery. The figures for religions in Subsidiary Table II show a large drop in the sex-proportions for Hindus and a larger drop still for Muhammadans in the period 10-15. The drop in proportion is noticeable for each religion compared with the figures for ages 5-10, and it is also apparent on a comparison with the Animists, who have 944 females living to 1,000 males at 10-15 where Hindus have 811 and Muhammadans only 741. This great difference cannot all be attributed to inaccuracy, since girls over 15 are generally likely to be returned as under 15, if unmarried, among Hindus and Muhammadans. Among Animists the proportion of married or widowed girls under 15 to the whole number of females is only 1·07 per cent.; for Hindus the percentage is 3·0 and for Muhammadans 4·04. Thus greater deficit of females accompanies greater prevalence of early marriage, and our figures so far support the conclusion that early marriage is one of the main factors in the sex distribution.

Examining the figures for castes and tribes we find the same thing generally, but there are exceptions. The Garos, though a hill tribe, are exceptional in having a good many of their girls married before 15: the census figures show that the number of them is as much as 2·44 per cent. of the whole number of females. The Garo Hills stands alone among the hill districts as having a deficit of females in the natural population; this district therefore supports the argument as to influence of early marriage. On the other hand, some of the animistic and formerly animistic tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley show considerable shortage of females, although they do not practise early marriage; notably the Mikirs, Kacharis, Chutiyas, Meches, Rajbansis. In these cases other factors must be acting: I think that malaria probably has a considerable effect in reducing the proportion of females.

* Census of India, 1911, report, pages 215-219.

From 15 to 25 years of age women appear in excess in all religions and all natural divisions ; this is due, partly at any rate, to inaccuracy in age returns. The great partiality of women for age 25 has been pointed out in the last chapter, and diagram No. 4 in paragraph 91 above shows it clearly. The difference is probably due also to the fact that boys and men become subject to more risks as they go out into life after about 15 years of age.

After 25 the strain of married life, child-bearing and primitive midwifery begins to tell again and the ratio of females to males falls below equality ; in the hills it remains in excess until after the age of 30.

Vital statistics.

93. In the plains there has been a general drop since 1911 in the proportion of females among the natural as well as the actual population. This amounts to 15 per thousand in the Brahmaputra Valley and 11 in the Surma Valley. As remarked in paragraph 88, the vital statistics do not support the census figures ; according to occurrences registered in the decade, the ratio of female deaths to male deaths is lower than the corresponding ratio for births (see Subsidiary Table V). We might therefore expect the proportion of females in the population to be higher than in 1911. But both immigration and inaccuracy have disturbed the vital statistics and it is useless to compare the sexes or to look for any explanation of phenomena in the records as registered at present.

Sex on tea gardens.

94. On the tea gardens the total censused, over 922,000 persons, was made up of 471,000 males and 451,000 females. This gives a proportion of 958 women to every thousand men. The ratio is rather higher than that for the natural population of the whole province (951). Although the tea garden census figures include many born in Assam, it appears that it is immigration other than that to the tea gardens which reduces the proportion in the provincial actual population to 926.

In 1911 the tea garden sex ratio was 940, *i.e.*, nearly the same as for the actual population of the province. The higher proportion of females on the tea gardens at this census is probably due to the increase of Chota Nagpur and Central Provinces aboriginal tribes people.

Provincial Table VI shows that in Sibsagar tea gardens, which have been taken as typical of all the tea population, the age distribution of males and females differs greatly from that for the province. The tea gardens have a considerable female excess at all ages from 15 to 35, whereas the provincial excess disappears before 30 years of age.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

General proportions of the sexes by natural divisions and districts.

Districts and natural divisions.	Number of females to 1,000 males.									
	1921.		1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.	
	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM ...	926	951	940	963	949	966	942	969	953	966
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.	892	937	913	952	924	963	923	957	931	954
Goalpara ...	875	947	886	955	904	953	912	973	947	969
Kamrup ...	920	948	968	964	1,012	978	976	966	947	962
Darrang ...	888	941	900	947	916	976	907	953	919	943
Nowgong ...	907	971	959	999	964	1,016	936	957	936	944
Sibsagar ...	897	906	892	915	886	925	902	939	903	932
Lakhimpur ...	875	919	883	944	863	945	863	935	867	956
*Sadiya ...	796	941	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
*Balipara ...	477	822	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
SURMA VALLEY ...	937	937	943	948	947	941	948	962	957	965
Cachar (including North Cachar).	912	943	910	959	866	972	898	974	880	979
Sylhet ...	942	935	949	946	965	937	957	961	969	963
HILLS ...	1,023	1,041	1,026	1,040	1,037	1,061	1,019	1,080	1,022	1,049
Garo Hills ...	959	975	956	973	974	993	986	1,075	958	979
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	1,031	1,064	1,054	1,097	1,080	1,113	1,092	1,119	1,104	1,129
Naga Hills ...	993	1,015	1,002	997	982	988	1,035	982	973	999
Lushai Hills ...	1,109	1,168	1,120	1,159	1,113	1,189	911	1,005	...	...
Manipur ...	1,041	1,038	1,029	1,023	1,037	1,054	969	761	1,018	889

N. B.—The figures given for natural population in 1891 and 1881 exclude the emigrants to other provinces; and those given for 1901 include provincial emigrants to Bengal only.

*Figures of Sadiya and Balipara from 1881 to 1911 are included in Lakhimpur and Darrang districts, respectively.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Number of females per 1,000 *males at different age periods by religions at each of the last three censuses.*

Age.	All religions.				Hindus.				Muhammadans.				Animists.			
	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
0–1	1,022	1,016	1,004	984	1,021	1,005	1,005	980	1,018	1,023	989	982	1,032	1,038	1,027	1,001
1—2	1,050	1,039	1,042	1,031	1,056	1,032	1,019	1,018	1,038	1,043	1,060	1,046	1,051	1,051	1,077	1,045
2—3	1,065	1,062	1,061	1,057	1,058	1,060	1,058	1,057	1,081	1,047	1,070	1,058	1,057	1,087	1,056	1,055
3—4	1,064	1,062	1,067	1,068	1,069	1,063	1,078	1,062	1,074	1,073	1,067	1,087	1,040	1,042	1,038	1,059
4—5	1,033	1,030	1,023	1,030	1,033	1,032	1,013	1,005	1,025	1,019	1,025	1,057	1,044	1,040	1,044	1,052
TOTAL 0—5 ...	**1,046**	**1,041**	**1,039**	**1,034**	**1,046**	**1,037**	**1,036**	**1,024**	**1,048**	**1,040**	**1,040**	**1,047**	**1,045**	**1,052**	**1,047**	**1,043**
5—10	978	978	983	980	981	977	982	987	987	987	988	971	952	960	981	971
10—15	801	811	817	811	778	799	822	818	777	763	740	741	935	943	938	944
15—20	1,074	1,113	1,072	1,064	993	1,040	1,010	1,006	1,155	1,184	1,117	1,110	1,241	1,264	1,210	1,200
20—25	1,155	1,222	1,174	1,170	1,086	1,171	1,105	1,102	1,225	1,250	1,249	1,253	1,323	1,397	1,323	1,299
25—30	990	986	994	984	968	969	964	949	971	935	986	989	1,124	1,173	1,136	1,118
TOTAL 0—30 ...	**996**	**1,008**	**1,002**	**991**	**972**	**989**	**983**	**974**	**1,004**	**1,001**	**999**	**987**	**1,064**	**1,087**	**1,072**	**1,060**
30—40	822	805	817	820	819	782	804	818	770	759	761	756	920	971	958	944
40—50	795	802	769	751	784	783	747	731	761	706	736	715	887	913	886	875
50 -60	826	872	836	787	820	867	836	776	837	847	812	749	837	927	872	871
60 and over ...	1,012	1,008	974	892	1,026	1,016	1,002	919	1,000	895	890	799	990	1,057	1,007	923
TOTAL 30 AND OVER	**839**	**836**	**824**	**803**	**834**	**822**	**814**	**797**	**810**	**791**	**778**	**749**	**907**	**958**	**930**	**909**
Total all ages (actual population).	942	949	940	926	923	929	922	909	943	936	930	913	1,009	1,042	1,022	1,006
Total all ages (natural population).*	969	968	963	951	†	†	955	940	†	†	952	939	†	†	1,030	1,018

* *N. B.*—The figures given for natural population total in 1891 and by religions in 1911 exclude emigrants to other provinces, and those given for 1901 include extra-provincial emigrants to Bengal only.

† Figures not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Number of females per 1,000 *males at different age periods by religion and natural division (census of* 1921).

Age.	Brahmaputra Valley.				Surma Valley.				Hills.			
	All religions.	Hindu.	Muhammadan.	Animist.	All religions.	Hindu.	Muhammadan.	Animist.	All religions.	Hindu.	Muhammadan.	Animist.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
0—1	981	977	1,003	984	980	985	975	985	1,003	987	917	1,017
1—2	1,020	1,013	1,016	1,045	1,059	1,051	1,063	1,202	1,021	971	997	1,042
2—3	1,045	1,051	1,046	1,028	1,067	1,072	1,063	1,194	1,078	1,045	1,088	1,077
3—4	1,072	1,061	1,113	1,084	1,079	1,077	1,080	1,113	1,026	1,015	910	1,035
4—5	1,012	991	1,059	1,047	1,046	1,032	1,057	1,000	1,054	1,041	984	1,057
TOTAL 0—5 ...	**1,026**	**1,018**	**1,052**	**1,039**	**1,044**	**1,041**	**1,046**	**1,086**	**1,036**	**1,012**	**970**	**1,046**
5—10	964	974	927	965	998	1,013	988	970	985	986	943	978
10—15	814	820	723	894	765	789	746	974	945	945	819	948
15—20	1,016	972	1,095	1,170	1,086	1,050	1,116	1,269	1,155	1,063	1,057	1,220
20—25	1,120	1,093	1,126	1,282	1,232	1,153	1,307	1,466	1,175	969	998	1,300
25—30	936	930	871	1,066	1,023	1,002	1,043	1,218	1,063	864	753	1,168
TOTAL 0—30 ...	**970**	**963**	**949**	**1,038**	**1,000**	**994**	**1,003**	**1,091**	**1,044**	**977**	**925**	**1,078**
30—40	788	798	660	883	928	857	799	880	933	811	598	1,028
40—50	687	692	612	755	766	774	757	850	975	815	674	1,008
50—60	654	717	633	699	819	856	777	762	1,004	951	725	1,024
60 and over ...	833	857	764	810	890	964	812	844	1,030	1,151	815	976
TOTAL 30 AND OVER.	**740**	**760**	**662**	**801**	**816**	**845**	**786**	**819**	**973**	**908**	**661**	**1,003**
Total all ages population (actual).	892	889	856	955	937	938	936	1,001	1,020	955	840	1,051
Total all ages (natural population).	***937***	***932***	***942***	***973***	***937***	***940***	***938***	**1,016**	**1,041**	**1,019**	***971***	**1,048**

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Number of females per 1,000 *males for certain selected castes and tribes.*

Caste or tribe.	Number of females per 1,000 males.						
	All ages.	0—5	5—12	12—15	15—20	20—40	40 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Ahom	921	1,021	954	795	897	953	803
Baidya	864	1,045	1,056	865	735	832	671
Barui	946	1,083	1,014	706	938	963	884
Bhuinmali	1,044	1,111	1,411	836	1,244	1,011	855
Boria	1,141	1,145	1,099	560	1,605	1,206	1,165
Brahman	826	978	902	743	866	804	714
Brittiyal Baniya	918	1,025	921	960	928	915	803
Chutiya	940	1,017	1,037	844	955	930	815
Dhoba	944	917	950	861	1,189	975	842
Garo	992	1,074	893	992	1,445	1,093	708
Goala	754	1,003	886	608	868	744	589
Kachari	968	1,033	976	885	1,081	996	828
Kalita	895	1,002	1,001	750	836	911	774
Kamar	947	1,020	906	863	1,102	1,056	741
Kayastha	853	1,060	994	753	896	793	745
Kewat	921	1,047	961	801	913	977	761
Khasi	1,074	1,044	1,004	924	1,250	1,137	1,068
Koch	934	1,082	974	754	921	948	827
Kshattriya	1,031	1,046	1,058	959	936	1,043	1,062
Kuki	1,029	1,027	966	979	1,056	1,159	927
Kumhar	918	1,077	966	789	884	918	854
Lushai	1,113	906	946	980	817	1,301	1,329
Mahisya	863	1,096	874	539	934	875	780
Malo	807	1,020	925	702	806	813	652
Mech	946	1,118	923	1,066	1,291	899	730
Mikir	839	1,019	857	785	914	969	739
Nadiyal	887	1,002	963	706	837	944	715
Namasudra	923	1,073	931	739	1,121	925	820
Napit	966	1,037	1,056	879	1,085	936	872
Patni	952	1,150	941	827	1,091	941	871
Rajbansi	906	1,022	934	775	1,071	906	776
Sudra	944	1,038	1,025	717	816	933	932
Sutradhar	929	1,051	1,095	694	949	886	854
Tanti	967	1,181	947	835	988	1,038	756
Teli	927	987	964	683	986	952	885
Yogi	945	1,073	949	726	1,039	942	905

N. B.—The figures for Brahmans, Baidyas, Goalas, Kayasthas, Tantis and Telis are probably affected by immigration.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Actual number of births and deaths reported for each sex during the decades 1891—1900, 1901—1910 *and* 1910—1920.

Year.	Number of Births.			Number of Deaths.			Difference between columns 2 and 3, excess of latter over former (+) defect (—).	Difference between columns 5 and 6, excess of latter over former (+) defect (—).	Difference between columns 4 and 7, excess of former over latter (+) defect (—).	Number of female births per 1,000 male births.	Number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1891	74,721	68,827	143,548	79,449	70,707	150,156	—5,894	—8,742	—6,608	921	890
1892	80,951	74,958	155,909	90,398	81,386	171,784	—5,993	—9,012	—15,875	926	900
1893	78,922	72,469	151,391	81,667	70,414	152,081	—6,453	—11,253	—690	918	862
1894	81,074	75,079	156,153	81,788	72,303	154,091	—5,995	—9,485	+2,062	926	884
1895	80,644	74,987	155,631	89,931	79,373	169,304	—5,657	—10,558	—13,673	930	883
1896	87,620	81,552	169,172	97,130	85,287	182,417	—6,068	—11,843	—13,245	931	878
1897	85,005	78,612	163,617	132,774	121,319	254,093	—6,393	—11,455	—90,476	925	914
1898	76,670	71,219	147,889	97,447	84,080	181,527	—5,451	—13,367	—33,638	929	863
1899	92,135	86,892	179,027	84,460	72,135	156,595	—5,243	—12,325	+22,432	943	854
1900	95,000	89,427	184,427	95,725	75,906	161,631	—5,573	—9,819	+22 ,796	941	885
Total 1891—1900 ...	**832,742**	**774,022**	**1,606,764**	**920,769**	**812,910**	**1,733,679**	**—58,720**	**—107,859**	**—126,915**	**929**	**883**
1901	93,078	86,211	179,289	77,503	69,436	146,939	—6,867	—8,067	+32,350	926	896
1902	93,146	87,329	180,475	80,098	72,972	153,070	—5,817	—7,126	+27,405	938	911
1903	96,877	90,792	187,669	72,613	67,456	140,069	—6,085	—5,157	+47,600	937	929
1904	96,761	90,778	187,539	70,507	65,885	136,392	—5,983	—4,622	+51,147	938	934
1905	99,584	93,087	192,671	77,233	72,765	150,000	—6,497	—4,470	+42,671	935	942
1906	95,236	88,864	184,100	83,122	78,421	161,543	—6,372	—4,701	+22,557	933	943
1907	96,993	91,786	188,779	70,366	64,658	135,024	—5,207	—5,708	+53,755	946	919
1908	105,128	97,611	202,739	95,051	89,840	185,891	—7,517	—6,211	+16,848	928	935
1909	97,470	90,112	187,582	90,618	83,159	173,777	—7,358	—7,459	+13,805	925	918
1910	99,591	93,111	192,702	92,986	88,331	181,317	—6,480	—4,655	+11,385	935	950
Total Assam 1901—1910	**973,864**	**909,681**	**1,883 545**	**811,099**	**752,923**	**1,564,022**	**—64,183**	**—58,176**	**+319,523**	**934**	**928**
Brahmaputra Valley ...	**474,708**	**444 511**	**919,219**	**422,919**	**391,186**	**814,295**	**—30,197**	**—30,833**	**+196,014**	**936**	**927**
Surma Valley	**499,156**	**465,170**	**964,326**	**389,080**	**361,737**	**750,817**	**—33,986**	**—27,343**	**+213,509**	**932**	**930**
1911	99,872	93,688	193,560	73,733	69,182	142,915	—6,184	—4,551	+50,645	938	938
1912	100,669	94,007	194,676	79,657	71,909	151,566	—6,662	—7,748	+43,110	934	903
1913	103,423	96,652	200,075	88,106	79,273	167,379	—6,771	—8,833	+32,696	935	900
1914	103,321	96,022	199,343	78,973	70,271	149,244	—7,299	—8,702	+50,099	929	890
1915	105,026	98,310	203,336	98,147	88,631	186,778	—6,716	—9,516	+16,558	936	903
1916	95,091	89,048	184,739	91,927	81,111	173,038	—6,643	—10,816	+11,701	931	
1917	97,668	92,073	189,741	86,986	76,939	163,925	—5,595	—10,047	+25,816	943	884
1918	108,730	102,987	211,717	145,993	133,041	279,034	—5,743	—12,952	—67,317	947	911
1919	95,287	89,451	184,738	159,838	143,295	303,133	—5,836	—16,543	—118,395	939	897
1920	98,370	92,465	190,835	95,797	79,606	175,403	—5,905	—16,191	+15,432	940	831
Total 1911—1920 ...	**1,006,057**	**944,703**	**1,952,760**	**969,157**	**893,258**	**1,862,415**	**—63,354**	**—105,899**	**+60,345**	**937**	**894**
Brahmaputra Valley ...	**529,107**	**499,500**	**1,028,607**	**531,740**	**478,556**	**1,010,296**	**—29,517**	**—53,184**	**+18,401**	**1944**	**900**
Surma Valley	**476,950**	**445,113**	**924,063**	**467,417**	**414,702**	**882,119**	**—33,837**	**—52,715**	**+41,944**	**929**	**887**

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Number of deaths of each sex at different age periods.

Age.	1916.		1917.		1918.		1919.		1920.		Total.		Average number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
0—1 ...	20,277	17,041	19,430	16,484	24,597	21,336	23,823	20,476	19,948	15,847	108,075	91,184	844
1—5 ...	13,646	13,046	12,415	11,902	20,712	20,449	22,168	22,010	11,067	10,085	80,011	77,492	969
5—10 ...	7,334	6,766	7,122	6,020	12,722	11,352	15,130	13,395	7,292	6,195	49,600	43,028	865
10—15 ...	3,733	2,666	3,768	2,662	7,712	6,127	8,672	6,780	4,626	3,527	28,511	21,762	763
15—20 ...	3,108	4,205	2919	3,758	6,689	8,647	7,237	8,952	4,044	4,501	23,997	30,063	1,253
20—30 ...	8,072	11,006	7,523	10,239	16,764	22,501	18,205	23,486	9,446	11,760	60,010	78,992	1,316
30—40 ...	10,324	8,885	9,636	8,848	19,902	17,817	21,731	18,541	11,911	9,759	73,504	63,850	869
40—50 ...	8,757	5,701	8,146	5,365	14,532	9,343	16,650	10,706	10,272	6,045	58,577	37,160	634
50—60 ...	7,144	5,058	6,921	4,635	10,442	6,768	12,246	7,996	7,881	5,033	44,634	29,690	665
60 and over ...	9,532	7,437	8,903	6,826	11,901	8,701	13,976	10,953	9,310	6,854	53,622	40,771	760

CHAPTER VII.

CIVIL CONDITION.

Census statistics.

95. The census term civil condition means condition as to marriage. In 1911 much descriptive matter of interest in connection with marriage and birth customs found entry in this chapter. In the present report it is assumed that customs and institutions such as hypergamy, exogamy, polygyny and mother-kin are known* : we are concerned only with alterations or tendencies of the last decade affecting the statistics. The absolute statistics of married, unmarried and widowed persons by sex, religion, age, locality and tribe or caste will be found in Imperial Tables VII and XIV. These are presented in proportionate relations in the five subsidiary tables at the end of the chapter.

The instructions to the enumerating staff provided that persons recognised by custom as married should be entered as married even though they had not gone through the full ceremony ; the divorced were entered as widowed and widowed persons remarried were of course included with the married. The entry " married " connotes only the completion of the ceremony or custom ; it does not necessarily mean that cohabitation has begun.

There are few customs in Assam which would interfere with the truth of the returns. Some unmarried prostitutes or kept women may have stated falsely that they were married but such cases are not likely to have been numerous. On the whole, it may be assumed that the census statistics are fairly accurate.

Marriage—general.

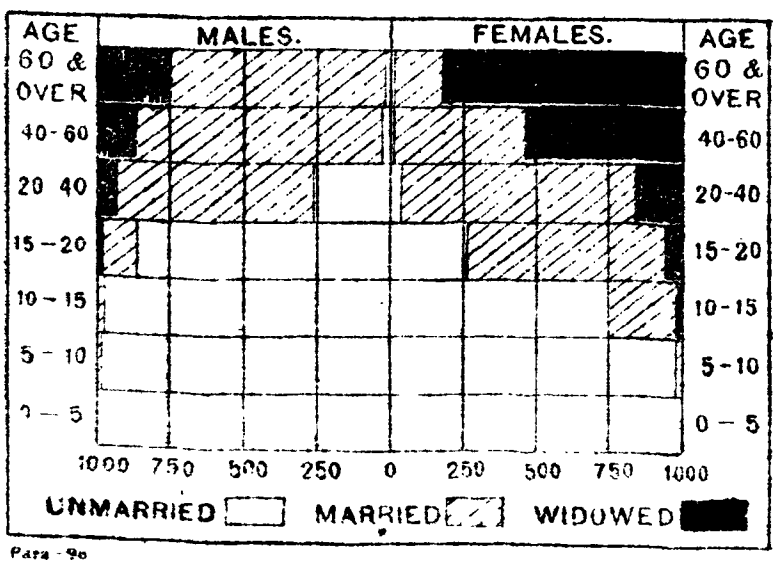
96. The universality of marriage in India is well known, and Assam forms no exception to the rule, although marriages here are later than in many other parts. Between the ages of 15 and 40 only 36·5 per cent. of males and 8·8 per cent. of females are unmarried, while among those who have passed 40, the proportions are 2·7 for men and 1 per cent. for women.

The percentages of unmarried for those between 15 and 40 are somewhat lower than the corresponding figures of 1911, especially in the case of females, but the result is due rather to the postponement of the marriage age than to any approach to the unnatural restraints on marriage placed by artificial social and economic conditions such as obtain in western countries. In England and Wales in 1911 13 per cent. of men and 30 per cent. of women aged 20 and over were unmarried ; in Assam in 1921 the corresponding percentages are only 16 and 3 respectively.

Subsidiary Table I gives the exact proportions for each sex of the unmarried, married and widowed at different ages in the province and diagram No. 5 shows graphically how few are left unmarried after the period of youth is passed.

DIAGRAM NO. 5. ASSAM, 1921

Proportion per mille who are married at each age period.



Para 96

As shown in Subsidiary Table II, the proportion of spinsters to females of all ages is 430 per thousand, while that for bachelors to the total of males is 557. A comparison of the numbers given in columns 2 and 6 of Subsidiary Table III with the corresponding figures of 1911 for the age group 0—10 shows that there has been a considerable fall in the proportion of children of these ages to the total population. As this group contains a great part of the unmarried population, especially females, we might have expected that this change in the

* For interesting notes see Assam Census Report, 1911, page 70 ff. and India Census Report, 1911, Chapter VII.

age distribution would have reduced the proportion of the unmarried at the present census. But this is not so. The effect has been more than counterbalanced by the raising of the average age of marriage. The male proportion of unmarried to total population has increased by 2 and the female by 10 per mille over the 1911 figures. The change is distributed generally over the province except for Brahmaputra Valley males whose proportion of unmarried and average age of marriage remain the same. It applies to all religions as regards females; for males the Muhammadan proportion of unmarried remains the same and the Animist proportion has decreased.

The marriage age.

97. Infant marriage is practically unknown in Assam. There is not a single child under 1 year old returned as married or widowed and there are only 110 married and 14 widowed under five years of age. These few cases call for no comment. Between 5 and 10 only 0·4 per cent. of boys and 1·8 per cent. of girl children have been married, the girls showing not only a proportionate decrease from the 1911 figure but an actual drop of 364 in the absolute number married and widowed in this age group.

Proportion of unmarried per mille.

Aged.	1921.	1911.	1901.
	MALES.		
5—10 ...	996	997	994
10—15 ...	977	977	973
15—20 ...	864	858	844
	FEMALES.		
5—10 ...	982	978	971
10—15 ...	753	716	695
15—20 ...	260	235	226

A glance at the marginal statement will show that in the last twenty years the proportion of unmarried males has increased very little except in the case of those over 15; the female proportions, however, have increased considerably at all the three age groups and most notably at ages 10—15. Indeed, comparison of Subsidiary Table III at this and the last census shows the striking fact that while the proportion of girls in the age group 10-15 in the whole population has increased considerably, the proportion of married at those ages has actually fallen in relation to the total female population of all ages. That is to say, the average age of marriage for males has risen somewhat, and the age for females much more. These results appear to be due partly to spread of education and to social and religious reasons, but chiefly to economic causes. For both sexes, poverty has compelled parents to postpone marriage of their children in many cases, but the early age customary for the girls has left more margin in their case; the desire for social advancement in certain castes, leading them to keep down the marriage age as a supposed badge of orthodoxy or high civilization, is not widespread enough to counteract the strong economic tendency operating in the opposite direction. In the case of boys of the classes which value education there is some tendency to earlier marriage, with a view to getting the father-in-law to bear the expenses of secondary education.

I have received reports on the age of marriage from honorary correspondents of several localities, but as these apply to different religions, it will be convenient to note them in the parts dealing with each religion (see paragraphs 99-101 below).

Widowhood.

98. The large number of widows is always a feature of the Indian marriage statistics. In 1911 widowers were in the same proportion to the total number of males as in 1901, while the number of widows per thousand females had fallen from 176 to 162. At this census we have to note a further fall in the proportion of widows to 157 and a rise in that of widowers to 51 per mille.

Civil Condition of 1,000 of each sex, all ages.

—	1921.	1911.	Increase (+) or decrease (—) per mille, 1911-1921.
	Males.		
Unmarried ...	557	555	+2
Married ...	392	398	—6
Widowed ...	51	47	+4
	1,000	1,000	
	Females.		
Unmarried ...	430	420	+10
Married ...	413	418	—5
Widowed ...	157	162	—5
	1,000	1,000	

The figures in the margin show how differently the increase in the proportion of unmarried is distributed in altering the proportions of the married and widowed in the two sexes. The differences appear to be due partly to changes in the age constitution of the population and partly to the rise of the age of marriage. There is now a smaller proportion of men living between 15 and 40 and a larger proportion over 40 than in 1911. The marriage statistics show the effect that might have been expected in the ratio of widowed and married males.

The fall in proportion of widows occurs among those aged over 40, corresponding with a drop in the general proportion of women of that period. Widows aged 15-40 show no tendency to decrease; the percentage to the total number of females of those ages is now 13·4, against 13·3 in 1911.

The unequal raising of the marriage age causes the average age of married women to advance more than that of men; the result is a tendency for more husbands and fewer wives to survive their consorts than was the case before. Thus we should have an increase in the proportion of widowers and decrease in that of widows, reinforcing the effect of the changed age distribution; and our statistics are in accord with this. It is not possible to estimate the factors separately, but probably the greater effect on the statistics of widowhood is produced by the different age distribution of the people, brought about by influenza and economic causes. No change in custom as to widow marriage can be traced in the census statistics. The Muhammadan freedom of remarriage remains and is reflected in the comparative figures tabulated in the subsidiary tables. Among Hindus the tendency of the lower castes is rather to abolish than to increase the custom of widow marriage; and it is only a few of the boldest among the educated classes who venture to adopt it.

Hindus.

99. Subsidiary Table III shows that in every 10,000 Hindus of either sex and all ages 6 males and 33 females below 10 years of age are married, and 2 females are widowed. The corresponding figure for married girls was 43 in 1911. This satisfactory drop in the proportion is continued again in the age group 10—15, which has now 255 married females per 10,000 against the 275 of 1911.

In Subsidiary Table II, figures have been shown separately for the Hindus of Goalpara and of the rest of the Brahmaputra Valley, as marriage practices are different. In Goalpara, the lower castes still marry very early, and Babu Dwijesh Chandra Chakravartty of Gauripur informs me that the average age of marriage for girls is still no higher than 11 or 12. In Assam proper, or the five other districts of the valley, the only indigenous castes practising early marriage are Brahmans and Ganaks or Daibajnas, with whom marriage of girls before puberty is compulsory. Even in these cases, however, the girl-bride does not go to live with her husband until 6 months or a year after she attains puberty.

Telis and some other tea-garden coolie classes, as well as the Marwaris, also keep to the lower ages; in some cases they marry both their sons and their daughters below 10.

In other castes and classes of the Bramaputra Valley the age is much higher—generally between 15 and 18. Mr. G. G. Paukan of Sibsagar puts it at 15—20, and Srijut Dalim Chandra Bora of Tezpur says :"..... There is no fixity of marriageable age. Marriage is held according to convenience of parents. It generally varies from the 15th to the 25th year." Thus we find that in Goalpara 407 out of every thousand Hindu girls aged 10—15 are married and 19 widowed, while the proportions are only 137 and 5 for the rest of the Valley. Boys also are married earlier in Goalpara than elsewhere.

In the Surma Valley the custom approximates to that of Goalpara. Orthodox Brahmans marry girls at about 12, other *bhadralok* classes at 14 to 16. Early marriage (at 10 and under) prevails to a considerable extent among Sudras, Yogis, Patnis, Namasudras and others. Economic stress has caused many of these to raise the age. Nevertheless, the statistics show an even greater proportion of Surma Valley Hindu females aged 10—15 as married or widowed than in Goalpara. As a consequence, we find much higher percentages of widows among Hindu women in the Surma Valley and Goalpara than elsewhere.

Subsidiary Table V shows Civil condition for certain castes, and is of interest as the ages are in groups different from those of the other tables. There are still several castes with considerably over 10 per cent. of their girls under 12 years old married; but a comparison with the corresponding figures of 1911 shows that nearly all the castes, especially in the Surma Valley, have lowered the proportion. A notable exception is the Barui caste, who now have 165 married females per thousand aged 5—12, against 138 married and widowed in 1911. In this case, however, the caste numbers have fallen to about one-third of their last census total owing to adoption of other caste-names, and the statistics of marriage are therefore not strictly comparable with those of 1911. For the same reason the figures for Kaibartta Chasis, who appear with the unenviable position of 20 per mille of widows among their girls under 12, are not reliable. Among the more educated classes, we find

that Brahmans have reduced their proportion of young girls married from 122 to 95 per mille ; but in view of the usual strictness of the orthodox in this matter, it seems probable that a part of this difference is due to misinterpretation of the definition of marriage. It is curious that the Baidyas, who stand first in the educational statistics, and particularly in literacy of their girls, should have increased their proportion of child-wives from 37 to 49 in the decade. The absolute number of Baidyas in the Province, however, is small and it is hardly fair to make any deductions from the scanty figures. Kayasthas show a reduction in this proportion from 69 to only 62 per mille ; having regard to the modern views held by many educated Kayasthas, I think the drop would have been much greater, but that the caste-numbers have been swelled by entry of other castes who previously laid no claim to the name.

A point needing explanation is the apparent conflict between the statistics and the reports that castes trying to advance in the social scale are lowering the marriage age. The truth seems to be that many who would have married their children earlier, have been compelled by hard economic conditions to postpone the marriages until they could do so no longer. Marriages still cost money. In the Surma Valley, it is reported, a bride-price varying from 100 to 200 rupees is still taken among many castes such as Yogi, Napit, Teli and Mali, and though some of my correspondents say that it has been reduced, this custom still prevails in the Brahmaputra Valley. Where no bride-price is taken, the expenses of the entertainment and ornaments to the bride have to be borne. With higher castes, the dowry practice, already in existence in the Surma Valley, is being introduced in some cases into the Brahmaputra Valley also from Bengal.

100. A reference to Subsidiary Table I will show that while the Hindus have been raising the age of marriage for both males and females, Muhammadans have slightly lowered the age for males and have raised it considerably for girls, but not in so great a measure as have the Hindus. The proportions for boys below 15 remain the same as at the last census, but between 15 and 20 there are now only 860 unmarried in every thousand, against 863 in 1911. For girls under 10, the proportion is as before, 18 married and 1 widow per mille of that age group. In the 10—15 group we find 325 married and 11 widowed girls in every thousand ; this compares well with the 1911 Muhammadan figures of 361 and 12 but unfavourably with the Hindus, who have only 246 girl-wives and 10 widows in a thousand of these ages. In the next group, 15—20, the difference is even more marked : only 96 Muhammadan girls remain unmarried per mille, against proportions of 255 among Hindus and 525 among Animists.

Muhammadans.

As noted in the last census report, the Brahmaputra Valley Musalmans appear to marry earlier than those of the Surma Valley : at ages 10 to 15 the latter division has still 705 and the former only 527 girls per mille unmarried. In the Surma Valley, I am informed by Hazi Muhammad Mubaswir Ali Chaudhuri, the usual age of the bride is between 12 and 16, and that of the bridegroom between 20 and 30. In Upper Assam, where Musalmans are not numerous, girls are married at about 16 and men at about 22 ; my authority for this is Maulvi Sajidur Rahman, M.A., B.L., of Dibrugarh. Although not forbidden by religious ordinance, inter-marriage between different castes or groups of Muhammadans seldom takes place : marriage is generally between persons of the same social position and status. There being no religious ban and no prejudice against the remarriage of widows, such remarriages are common ; the form used for either a widow or a divorced woman is always the *nika* marriage. The columns for the widowed in the tables show clearly the effect of this freedom as compared with Hindu practice.

Polygamy is still fairly common ; in Sylhet Musalman wives exceed husbands by 14,000, or about 5 per cent. of the total of married men. This cannot be accounted for by immigration or visiting, to any extent. It must therefore be due to plurality of wives. Economic stress doubtless acts as a check among the poorer people, but the motive of gaining property by an extra marriage enters not infrequently. In all the Brahmaputra Valley districts there are more married men than women ; this is probably due to immigration.

101. Among Animists men marry somewhat earlier and women much later than among Hindus or Muhammadans. At 15—20 there are only 841 unmarried male Animists in 1,000 of that age, where there are 869 Hindus. In the same age period for females, no less than 525 per mille have not yet been married : the corresponding figure for Muhammadans is 96 and for Hindus is 255. As a consequence the proportion of widows among

Animists.

Animists is much less even than among Muhammadans; but the proportion of widowers is greater. There is no substantial change in the customary ages of marriage among the different tribes. Usually it is after puberty and, as the statistics show, often at over 20 years old. There are, however, exceptions. The Rev. G. G. Crozier of Manipur mentions the case of the Kom Kukis, who become engaged in infancy and very often marry before puberty and consummate the marriage in childhood. On the other hand the Tangkhul Nagas marry at about 18—20—never before puberty, and the Thadc Kukis often not till 20 or later. The Rev. F. W. Harding reports that among the non-Christian Garos marriage still often takes place before puberty; the custom seems, however, to be decreasing, because in spite of the general increase in the Garo Hills population, the number of girls under 15 who are married has decreased from 2,600 in 1911 to 2,300 in 1921. The Lhota Nagas occasionally give their girls in marriage at under 10 years of age.

As noted in former census reports, polygamy is allowed among several tribes. The provincial statistics for Animists are obscured by immigration of Santals, Mundas and others to tea gardens, but in any case the practice of polygamy has its limitations and our figures show that it cannot be very extensive. The number of Animist married women, about 252,000 is only some 3,000 more than the number of married men, and this difference is more than accounted for by the Garo Animists. In the Garo Hills a man may take as many wives as he pleases, and there is no bride or bridegroom price. But three wives is usually the maximum number, and the husband must pay compensation unless he obtains his first wife's permission before taking a second.* The economic factor also is bound to enter; for instance, the Chulikata and Bebejiya Mishmis of the North-East frontier are polygamous, but the number of a man's wives is limited by his purchasing power.

Exogamy prevails as before, but the rigour of custom is tending to relax in some cases. The tribes usually known as Abor are all divided into exogamous clans and particular care has always been taken to prevent inter-marriage; but among the Padam Abors the rule has been relaxed of late years owing to the size of the clan. Each clan is, however, subdivided into smaller clans or families with endogamy strictly forbidden within them. The Akas, says Captain G. A. Nevill, Political Officer, Balipara, are strictly neither exogamous nor endogamous; social grades exist and a person of one sub-clan will not marry one of a (socially) lower sub-clan, but will choose a partner from an equal clan or another tribe.

Mr. Cumming, Assistant Political Officer of Pasighat, notes that the Miris, with four great clans divided into smaller exogamous clans kept as distinct as possible, have prejudices against endogamy and will not knowingly countenance it ; but of late years there has been so much inter-marrying that relationships have become somewhat involved. And Mr. Bordoloi, Extra Assistant Commissioner, was informed by the headmen of the Miris in the Lakhimpur district that, although there are clans which do not usually inter-marry, run-away marriages are prevalent and the parties are not excommunicated.

Lieutenant-Colonel Playfair states that nearly ten per cent. of the Garo marriages now-a-days are in violation of the rules of exogamous marriage, and no particular taboo or ostracism appears to follow the act. Some persons even go so far as to marry within their own motherhood, but this is looked on with more disfavour by orthodox Garos.† Among the Angami Nagas, the exogamous group known as the *thino* is giving place to its sub-division the *putsa* or kindred, and even marriage within the kindred is not unknown now-a-days. A reason suggested for this is that violent disputes between clans may have encouraged marriages within the *thino* in the last two generations.‡ A tendency to split up the exogamous group is also noted among the Lhota Nagas.

Christians and Buddhists.

102. Both Christians and Buddhists generally marry later than followers of the other religions, and there has been no great change in their comparative statistics for civil condition by age. Both the religions have a greater proportion of unmarried than was the case in 1911. The proportion of widowers has risen for Buddhists as well as for Christians, but that of widows has fallen among the Buddhists and risen among Christians. The absolute numbers, however, are small compared with other religions, and such changes as have occurred in the proportions are probably due only to changes in the age-constitution of the population.

* Playfair—The Garos, page 69.
† Playfair, op. cit. page 66.
‡ Hutton—The Angami Nagas, page 113ff.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Distribution by Civil Condition of 1,000 *of each sex, religion and main age period at each of the last five censuses.*

Religion, sex and age.	Unmarried.					Married.					Widowed.				
	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
ALL RELIGIONS.															
Male	557	555	554	562	538	392	398	399	397	428	51	47	47	41	34
0—5	1,000	1,000	1,000	999	999	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
5—10	996	997	994	997		4	3	6	3		...	...	...	...	
10—15	977	977	973	974	954	22	22	26	24	45	1	1	1	2	1
15—20	864	858	844	847	741	129	135	147	146	251	7	7	9	7	8
20—40	239	237	245	254	205	699	706	699	703	762	62	57	56	43	33
40—60	29	29	37	32	39	836	848	839	856	865	135	123	124	112	96
60 and over ...	21	21	27	21	27	730	735	732	749	750	249	244	241	230	223
Unspecified ...	...	...	...	...	421	...	...	...	...	575	...	...	...	...	4
Female ...	430	420	411	414	411	413	418	413	416	431	157	162	176	170	158
0—5	1,000	1,000	1,000	999	992	...	...	...	1	8	...	...	...	...	...
5—10	982	978	971	973		17	21	27	26		1	1	2	1	
10—15	753	716	695	660	676	238	274	291	328	314	9	10	14	12	10
15—20	260	235	226	208	224	697	722	718	747	735	43	43	56	45	41
20—40	40	27	39	32	39	801	816	780	803	814	159	157	181	165	147
40—60	10	6	13	9	12	453	434	406	427	495	537	560	581	564	493
60 and over ...	9	5	11	7	7	172	147	129	130	189	819	848	860	863	804
Unspecified ...	...	...	...	...	402	...	...	...	...	588	...	...	...	...	10
HINDU.															
Male	546	542	542	559	539	392	400	401	392	420	62	58	57	49	41
0—5	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	999	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
5—10	996	996	993	997		4	4	6	2		...	...	1	1	...
10—15	975	973	971	976	951	24	26	27	21	47	1	1	2	3	2
15—20	869	863	851	870	753	123	130	139	123	236	8	7	10	7	11
20—40	261	258	264	289	222	669	678	672	663	739	70	64	64	48	39
40—60	35	37	46	43	46	805	816	805	825	845	160	147	149	132	109
60 and over ...	26	26	36	30	34	677	673	672	700	714	297	301	292	270	252
Unspecified ...	...	...	...	...	279	...	...	...	...	569	...	...	...	...	152
Female ...	411	394	383	392	404	410	418	414	410	422	179	188	203	198	174
0—5	1,000	1,000	1,000	999	992	...	...	...	1	8	...	...	...	...	...
5—10	979	971	962	968		20	28	35	31		1	1	3	1	
10—15	744	687	671	643	676	246	301	312	343	313	10	12	17	14	11
15—20	255	223	221	222	236	694	726	712	724	717	51	51	67	54	47
20—40	34	29	33	30	35	783	789	758	774	802	183	182	209	196	163
40—60	9	4	13	9	11	419	384	361	376	460	572	612	626	615	529
60 and over ...	6	3	8	5	7	129	104	95	97	171	865	893	897	898	822
Unspecified ...	...	...	...	...	156	...	...	...	...	280	...	...	...	...	562
MUHAMMADAN.															
Male ...	581	581	588	581	546	391	392	386	396	433	28	27	26	23	21
0—5	1,000	1,000	1,000	999	999	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
5—10	997	997	995	998		3	3	5	2		...	...	...	...	
10—15	982	982	981	979	958	18	18	18	20	41	...	...	1	1	1
15—20	860	863	855	843	732	136	132	140	153	265	4	5	5	4	3
20—40	205	208	228	205	162	756	755	737	768	820	39	37	35	27	18
40—60	15	14	24	11	16	908	915	907	927	924	77	71	69	62	60
60 and over ...	12	11	14	7	10	818	827	825	836	830	170	162	161	157	160
Unspecified ...	...	...	...	...	236	...	...	...	...	505	...	...	...	...	159

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Distribution by Civil Condition of 1,000 *of each sex, religion and main age period at each of the last five censuses*—concld.

Religion, sex and age.	Unmarried.					Married.					Widowed.				
	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
MUHAMMADAN.															
Female ...	**430**	**429**	**426**	**424**	**420**	**430**	**428**	**417**	**423**	**435**	**140**	**143**	**157**	**153**	**145**
0—5	1,000	1,000	999	999	992	...	...	1	1	8	...	...	...	...	...
5—10	981	981	975	974		18	18	23	24		1	1	2	2	
10—15	664	627	619	588	626	325	361	366	400	365	11	12	15	12	9
15—20	96	73	82	72	152	864	889	871	891	815	40	38	47	37	33
20—40	14	10	24	10	27	849	859	818	850	859	137	131	158	140	120
40—60	6	4	8	5	5	395	384	348	380	524	592	612	644	615	471
60 and over ...	5	4	8	4	3	110	96	83	86	185	885	900	909	910	812
Unspecified ...	...	...	...	...	92	...	...	...	...	277	...	...	...	...	631
ANIMIST.															
Male ...	**548**	**551**	**545**	**543**	**496**	**397**	**403**	**410**	**414**	**476**	**55**	**46**	**45**	**43**	**28**
0—5	1,000	1,000	1,000	999	1,000	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
5—10	995	997	994	996		5	3	5	4		...	...	1	...	
10—15	974	978	963	957	964	25	21	35	41	36	1	1	2	2	...
15—20	841	828	798	763	656	149	163	191	226	334	10	9	11	11	10
20—40	211	207	190	198	194	715	732	751	751	771	74	61	59	51	35
40—60	26	22	22	24	49	843	868	867	868	858	131	110	111	108	93
60 and over ...	21	20	18	14	33	758	775	772	768	752	221	205	210	218	215
UNSPECIFIED ...	...	...	...	...	423	...	...	...	...	577	...	...	...	...	...
Female	**482**	**476**	**469**	**464**	**443**	**399**	**406**	**404**	**424**	**472**	**119**	**118**	**127**	**112**	**85**
0—5	1,000	1,000	1,000	999	998	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...
5—10	992	993	986	986		8	6	13	13		...	1	1	1	
10—15	909	906	870	880	872	88	90	125	164	128	3	4	5	6	2
15—20	525	505	469	393	417	447	462	490	576	555	28	33	41	31	28
20—40	92	72	78	70	121	791	819	801	829	783	117	109	121	101	96
40—60	20	11	19	17	45	623	629	598	637	675	357	360	383	346	280
60 and over ...	23	12	20	14	37	351	314	273	306	377	626	674	707	680	586
UNSPECIFIED ...	...	...	...	...	407	...	...	...	...	593	...	...	...	...	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Distribution by Civil Condition of 1,000 *of each sex at certain ages in each religion and Natural Division.*

Religion and Natural Division.	All ages.			0–5			5–10			10–15			15–40			40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
ASSAM.							**MALES.**											
ALL RELIGIONS ...	**557**	**392**	**51**	**1,000**	...	...	**996**	**4**	...	**977**	**22**	**1**	**365**	**584**	**51**	**27**	**814**	**159**
Hindu	546	392	62	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	975	24	1	379	563	58	33	781	186
Musalman	581	391	28	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	982	18	...	345	624	31	14	888	98
Animist	548	397	55	1,000	...	...	995	5	...	974	25	1	339	600	61	25	822	153
Christian	597	358	45	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	989	10	1	418	532	50	38	817	145
Buddhist	524	406	70	1,000	...	...	991	9	...	972	26	2	399	531	70	49	768	183
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.																		
ALL RELIGIONS ...	**545**	**397**	**58**	**1,000**	...	...	**995**	**5**	...	**970**	**28**	**2**	**342**	**597**	**61**	**29**	**797**	**174**
Hindu { Excluding Goalpara ...	547	385	68	1,000	...	...	995	5	...	975	23	2	364	566	70	31	773	196
Hindu { Goalpara ...	525	427	48	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	960	38	2	324	634	42	25	820	155
Musalman ...	549	423	28	1,000	...	...	995	5	...	963	36	1	297	673	30	19	887	94
Animist ...	546	395	59	1,000	...	...	994	5	1	965	33	2	305	626	69	28	801	171
SURMA VALLEY.																		
ALL RELIGIONS ...	**572**	**385**	**43**	**1,000**	...	...	**997**	**3**	...	**982**	**17**	**1**	**390**	**571**	**39**	**27**	**827**	**146**
Hindu	547	394	59	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	975	24	1	415	539	46	41	773	186
Musalman	594	378	28	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	988	12	...	365	603	32	13	889	98
HILLS.																		
ALL RELIGIONS ...	**559**	**393**	**48**	**1,000**	...	...	**997**	**3**	...	**983**	**17**	...	**380**	**570**	**50**	**22**	**838**	**140**
Animist	550	400	50	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	981	18	1	370	577	53	23	839	138
							FEMALES.											
ASSAM.																		
ALL RELIGIONS ...	**430**	**413**	**157**	**1,000**	...	...	**982**	**17**	**1**	**753**	**238**	**9**	**88**	**778**	**134**	**10**	**387**	**603**
Hindu	411	410	179	1,000	...	...	979	20	1	744	246	10	80	765	155	8	354	638
Musalman	430	430	140	1,000	...	...	981	18	1	664	325	11	34	853	113	6	327	667
Animist	482	399	119	1,000	...	...	992	8	...	909	88	3	189	714	97	20	553	427
Christian	520	359	121	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	977	22	1	250	648	102	27	485	488
Buddhist	494	422	84	1000	...	...	981	19	...	916	65	19	230	699	71	45	662	293
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.																		
ALL RELIGIONS ...	**449**	**415**	**136**	**1,000**	...	...	**979**	**20**	**1**	**789**	**204**	**7**	**101**	**788**	**111**	**12**	**423**	**565**
Hindu { Excluding Goalpara ...	453	405	142	1,000	...	...	987	12	1	858	137	5	115	770	115	11	422	567
Hindu { Goalpara ...	403	420	177	1,000	...	...	952	46	2	574	407	19	40	800	160	7	329	664
Musalman ...	421	459	120	1,000	...	...	958	40	2	527	461	12	32	881	87	8	376	616
Animist ...	498	404	108	1,000	...	...	990	10	...	877	119	4	144	766	90	18	516	466
SURMA VALLEY.																		
ALL RELIGIONS ..	**389**	**421**	**190**	**1 000**	...	...	**981**	**18**	**1**	**639**	**348**	**13**	**33**	**800**	**167**	**5**	**273**	**722**
Hindu	338	422	240	1,000	...	...	968	30	2	552	431	17	31	754	215	5	244	751
Musalman	433	420	147	1,000	...	...	989	10	1	705	284	11	33	845	122	6	307	687
HILLS.																		
ALL RELIGIONS ...	**475**	**389**	**136**	**1 000**	...	...	**995**	**5**	...	**936**	**61**	**3**	**200**	**685**	**115**	**18**	**538**	**444**
Animist	478	396	126	1,000	...	...	994	6	...	933	65	2	226	672	102	22	576	402

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Distribution by main age periods and Civil Condition of 10,000 *of each sex and main religion.*

Religion and age.	Males.				Females.			
	Total.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Total.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ALL RELIGIONS.	**10,000**	**5,566**	**3,921**	**513**	**10,000**	**4,297**	**4,134**	**1,569**
0—10 ...	2,907	2,901	6	...	3,153	3,122	30	1
10—15 ...	1,205	1,177	27	1	1,056	795	252	9
15—40 ...	3,930	1,434	2,295	201	4,119	363	3,206	550
40 and over ...	1,958	54	1,593	311	1,672	17	646	1,009
Hindu ...	**10,000**	**5,457**	**3,923**	**620**	**10,000**	**4,107**	**4,106**	**1,787**
0—10 ...	2,735	2,729	6	...	3,020	2,985	33	2
10—15 ...	1,154	1,124	28	2	1,038	773	255	10
15—40 ...	4,054	1,536	2,283	235	4,177	335	3,194	648
40 and over ...	2,057	68	1,606	383	1,765	14	624	1,127
Muhammadan ...	**10,000**	**5,807**	**3,907**	**286**	**10,000**	**4,302**	**4,302**	**1,396**
0—10 ...	3,158	3,153	5	...	3,468	3,432	34	2
10—15 ...	1,345	1,320	24	1	1,092	725	355	12
15—40 ...	3,798	1,310	2,369	119	4,057	136	3,461	460
40 and over ...	1,699	24	1,509	166	1,383	9	452	922
Animist ...	**10,000**	**5,481**	**3,971**	**548**	**10,000**	**4,818**	**3,996**	**1,186**
0—10 ...	3,101	3,093	8	...	3,102	3,090	12	...
10—15 ...	1,118	1,089	28	1	1,027	933	91	3
15—40 ...	3,670	1,246	2,200	224	4,012	757	2,865	390
40 and over ...	2,111	53	1,735	323	1,859	38	1,028	793

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Proportion of the sexes by Civil Condition at certain ages for Religions and Natural Divisions.

Natural Division and Religion.	Number of females per 1,000 males.														
	All ages.			0—10.			10—15.			15—40.			40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
ASSAM.															
ALL RELIGIONS	**715**	**976**	**2,632**	**966**	**4,657**	**5,068**	**625**	**3,747**	**7,133**	**235**	**1,293**	**2,534**	**297**	**375**	**3,006**
Hindu	694	952	2,622	904	5,156	4,824	625	8,362	5,309	193	1,271	2,510	192	333	2,677
Musalman	676	1,006	4,450	992	6,031	11,278	502	13,371	22,102	95	1,334	3,513	317	273	5,084
Animist	885	1,013	2,179	1,005	1,640	1,609	862	3,282	3,231	612	1,310	1,755	722	596	2,470
Christian	878	1,011	2,743	1,025	1,423	333	933	2,132	2,500	612	1,248	2,082	722	589	3,376
Buddhist	713	788	906	956	1,675	...	738	2,000	6,000	403	918	704	603	561	1,041
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.															
ALL RELIGIONS	**736**	**969**	**2,076**	**985**	**4,215**	**2,918**	**661**	**5,928**	**3,639**	**273**	**1,220**	**1,687**	**287**	**373**	**2,342**
Hindu { Excluding Goalpara ...	741	940	1,873	991	2,581	1,876	722	4,686	2,175	202	1,260	1,582	258	319	2,114
Hindu { Goalpara	658	844	3,126	971	17,466	20,500	490	8,752	8,853	102	1,058	3,172	110	227	3,064
Musalman	656	931	3,611	962	7,810	21,750	396	9,238	13,875	96	1,153	2,511	264	282	4,248
Animist	853	977	1,739	999	1,809	714	813	3,235	2,005	495	1,282	1,364	477	475	2,016
SURMA VALLEY.															
ALL RELIGIONS	**638**	**1,023**	**4,142**	**1,007**	**6,517**	**10,699**	**498**	**15,570**	**17,831**	**84**	**1,398**	**4,322**	**155**	**267**	**4,602**
Hindu	580	1,004	3,798	1,008	8,171	12,812	457	14,368	13,424	74	1,371	4,639	100	264	3,374
Musalman	683	1,041	4,830	1,007	4,595	8,143	533	17,522	29,061	92	1,422	3,937	354	268	5,412
HILLS.															
ALL RELIGIONS	**868**	**1,068**	**2,886**	**1,009**	**1,675**	**9,667**	**900**	**3,445**	**7,375**	**560**	**1,277**	**2,435**	**806**	**64**	**3,175**
Animist	913	1,043	2,637	1,011	1,438	10,000	902	3,307	4,582	702	1,335	2,194	968	689	2,910

SUBSIDIARY

Distribution by Civil Condition of 1,000

Serial No.	Caste and locality.	Distribution of 1,000 males of each age by civil condition.																	
		All ages.			0—5.			5—12.			12—20.			20—40.			40 and over.		
		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1	Ahom (Hindu) Brahmaputra Valley.	611	325	64	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	932	64	4	297	628	75	27	740	233
2	Baidya (Hindu) Province ...	571	394	35	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	860	135	5	282	695	23	76	791	133
3	Barui (Hindu) Surma Valley...	504	417	79	1,000	...	...	992	8	...	816	177	7	210	730	60	56	681	263
4	Bhuinmali (Hindu) Sylhet ...	542	408	50	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	892	108	...	243	719	38	259	600	141
5	Brahman (Hindu) Province ...	538	403	59	1,000	...	...	993	7	...	871	120	9	252	695	53	56	753	191
6	Brittial Baniya (Hindu) Brahmaputra Valley.	612	339	49	1,000	...	..	998	...	2	942	55	3	297	644	59	3	687	180
7	Chutiya (Hindu) Upper Brahmaputra Valley.	590	341	69	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	956	39	5	282	639	79	38	732	230
8	Dhoba (Hindu) Sylhet ...	552	377	71	1,000	...	...	993	7	...	887	92	21	344	608	48	61	711	228
9	Goala (Hindu) Province ...	469	437	94	1,000	...	...	983	16	1	827	156	17	258	634	108	51	735	214
10	Kachari (Hindu) Brahmaputra Valley.	565	371	64	1,000	...	...	995	4	1	834	152	14	204	716	80	31	760	209
11	Kachari (Animist) Brahmaputra Valley.	552	394	54	1,000	...	...	991	8	1	753	237	10	172	755	73	22	802	176
12	Kaibartta Chasi (Hindu) Province.	562	385	53	1,000	...	...	999	1	...	941	54	5	310	655	35	34	765	201
13	Kalita (Hindu) Brahmaputra Valley.	588	356	56	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	917	79	4	301	651	48	29	770	201
14	Kamar (Hindu) Province ...	518	407	75	1,000	...	...	988	11	1	852	124	24	165	729	106	30	778	192
15	Kayastha (Hindu) Province ...	557	398	45	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	939	55	6	335	634	31	47	802	151
16	Kewat (Hindu) Brahmaputra Valley.	596	347	57	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	944	50	6	296	642	62	37	773	190
17	Koch (Hindu) Brahmaputra Valley.	591	356	53	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	927	65	8	279	664	57	29	790	181
18	Khattriya (Hindu) Manipur...	599	359	42	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	944	52	4	196	748	56	95	772	133
19	Kumhar (Hindu) Sylhet, Kamrup.	543	372	85	999	1	...	989	3	8	837	129	34	238	639	73	61	692	247
20	Malo (Hindu) Sylhet ...	566	372	62	1,000	...	...	999	1	...	915	75	10	413	524	63	112	714	174
21	Mikir (Hindu) Province ...	581	382	37	1,,000	...	...	992	8	...	911	85	4	268	690	42	31	852	117
22	Nadiyal (Hindu) Brahmaputra Valley.	583	346	71	1,000	..	...	993	7	...	919	76	5	253	656	91	38	735	227
23	Namasudra (Hindu) Province	535	410	55	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	888	102	10	287	667	46	39	783	178
24	Napit (Hindu) Province ...	556	387	57	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	906	86	8	311	645	44	36	772	192
25	Patni (Hindu) Surma Valley...	542	397	61	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	922	71	7	307	647	46	40	756	204
26	Rajbansi (Hindu) Goalpara ...	562	389	49	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	890	108	2	290	661	49	25	811	164
27	Sudra (Hindu) Sylhet ...	594	355	51	1,000	...	...	995	5	...	853	126	21	412	551	37	60	764	176
28	Sut (Hindu) Brahmaputra Valley.	610	327	63	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	967	30	3	310	618	72	24	760	216
29	Sutradhar (Hindu) Assam ...	580	366	54	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	933	55	12	346	605	49	43	779	178
30	Tanti (Hindu) Sibsagar and Lakhimpur.	470	447	83	1,000	...	...	994	6	...	889	102	9	153	734	113	22	778	200
31	Teli (Hindu) Sylhet ...	532	401	67	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	837	138	25	234	669	47	53	733	214
32	Yogi (Hindu) Province ...	538	377	57	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	915	82	3	268	681	51	36	763	201

TABLE V.

of each sex at certain ages for selected castes.

Distribution of 1,000 females of each age by civil condition.																
All ages.			0—5			5—12.			12—20.			20—40.			40 and over.			Serial No.
Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
521	362	117	1,000	...	...	982	18	...	728	263	9	62	827	111	19	449	532	1
448	403	149	1,000	...	...	951	49	...	363	615	22	15	836	149	2	348	650	2
296	432	272	1,000	...	...	835	165	...	90	842	68	3	697	300	1	207	792	3
277	474	249	990	10	...	816	184	...	47	919	34	11	763	226	...	207	793	4
351	441	208	1,000	...	...	903	95	2	130	808	62	13	768	219	6	292	702	5
501	362	137	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	571	414	15	55	792	153	22	372	606	6
529	351	120	1,000	...	...	993	6	1	732	260	8	73	816	111	19	421	560	7
390	407	203	1,000	...	...	894	104	2	162	742	96	13	664	323	8	175	817	8
358	472	170	1,000	...	...	925	73	2	344	614	42	39	798	163	15	421	564	9
496	383	119	998	2	...	984	16	...	508	475	17	53	825	122	17	464	519	10
490	396	112	1,000	...	...	985	14	1	483	500	17	49	854	97	16	458	526	11
362	380	25	1,000	...	...	916	64	20	179	736	85	19	689	292	4	210	786	12
463	369	168	1,000	...	...	976	23	1	472	507	21	32	801	167	9	336	655	13
417	439	144	1,000	...	...	965	34	1	457	504	39	42	810	148	11	433	556	14
369	405	226	1,000	...	...	938	60	2	234	711	55	17	744	239	7	254	739	15
477	374	149	1,000	...	...	981	19	...	566	420	14	38	814	148	14	378	608	16
482	364	153	1,000	...	...	986	13	1	564	418	18	41	812	147	10	363	627	17
450	382	168	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	571	365	64	21	907	172	9	469	522	18
356	378	266	999	1	...	918	79	3	217	706	77	19	689	292	2	205	793	19
304	496	288	1,000	...	...	907	88	5	202	691	107	7	657	336	2	155	843	20
509	4 03	88	999	1	...	987	12	1	667	305	28	97	824	79	17	639	344	21
495	370	135	1,000	...	...	991	8	1	608	371	21	45	819	136	16	402	582	22
296	443	259	1,000	...	...	867	129	4	88	851	61	10	707	283	4	196	800	23
345	409	246	1,000	...	...	923	74	3	170	765	65	9	716	275	4	229	767	24
303	415	282	1,000	...	...	861	131	8	82	828	90	34	650	316	16	180	804	25
366	405	229	1,000	...	...	887	109	4	168	761	71	11	720	269	3	235	762	26
342	388	270	1,000	...	...	928	67	5	142	788	70	19	689	292	12	203	785	27
494	354	152	1,000	...	...	994	6	...	658	320	22	48	809	143	9	384	607	28
360	393	247	1,000	...	...	928	61	11	139	757	104	10	709	281	30	202	768	29
395	459	146	1,000	...	...	984	15	1	548	428	24	35	814	151	10	454	536	30
298	436	266	999	1	...	851	146	3	81	838	81	8	704	288	23	229	748	31
370	404	226	1,000	...	...	912	85	3	222	719	59	18	731	251	7	265	728	32

10331

CHAPTER VIII.

LITERACY.

Meaning of the statistics.

103. In 1881 and 1891 the population was divided in respect of education into three categories,—literate, learning and illiterate. It was found that this caused confusion, and the census returns of the learning did not tally with the Education Department statistics of children under instruction. It was therefore decided in 1901 to confine the entries in the census schedules to the two main categories of literate and illiterate. This system has remained since, and the census definition of a literate person has been kept the same —one who can write a letter to a friend and read the answer to it. Knowledge of English reading and writing is recorded in a separate column. It was left to Local Governments to decide whether entry should be made of the particular vernacular language in which each person is literate : in Assam this was considered unnecessary, and the script was not recorded.

It is possible that a certain number of those who can read only a little and can write not at all or who can just scrawl their own names, were entered as literates ; but the enumerators were instructed to question people carefully on the matter before filling up the schedules, and as they were themselves literate at least as far as the census standard, they were able to judge literacy and illiteracy better than they could estimate, say, ages or tea-garden coolies' languages. A fair degree of accuracy may therefore be assumed for the literacy statistics presented in Imperial Table VIII (Education by religion and age) ; and as the same type of mistake recurs at successive enumerations, comparison of our figures with those of other censuses can be made safely. The same may be said generally of Imperial Table IX (Education by tribes and castes), but in a few cases the statistics are vitiated by caste movements causing some members of a caste to return new names and some to retain the old ones : these will be noticed in paragraph 107 below.

Provincial Tables II and VII show figures of literacy by thanas and for tea gardens. There are seven subsidiary tables attached to this chapter ; the first six of these give proportionate figures deduced from the two Imperial Tables mentioned above and the seventh is a summary of the Education Department returns of institutions and pupils.

In previous census reports the corresponding chapter and subsidiary tables were headed Education ; in the present report the word literacy has been used as more appropriate since the census records only the bare facts of ability or inability to read and write.

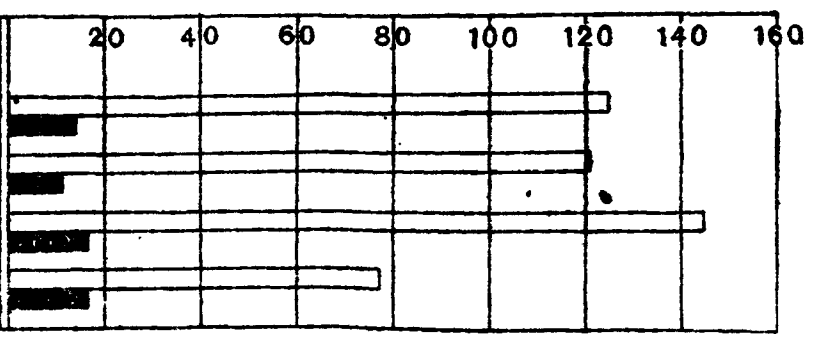
In the presentation of the statistics in the subsidiary tables an improvement has been made by calculating proportions in most cases not on the whole population but on the total of those aged five and over, thus excluding those who could not possibly be considered capable of attaining literacy. Two or three entries, indeed, were found of children of three and four years of age noted as able to read and write a letter ; these were rejected as freak entries.

Extent of literacy.

104. In Assam the number of literate persons of both sexes taken together has risen by nearly fifty per cent. from 333,674 to 494,729 between 1911 and 1921 ; this means that about 6·2 per cent. of the whole population is literate, against 4·7 per cent. found at the last census. In Subsidiary Table II will be found the proportions per mille set out for different age groups by sex and by districts. The following statement and diagram show in summary form the proportionate figures for the province and for natural divisions, omitting all children under five years of age.

Diagram No. 6— Number of literates per mille aged 5 & over.

	Persons	M.	F.
ASSAM . .	72	124	14
B.Valley. .	70	121	11
S. Valley. .	83	145	16
Hills . . .	46	77	16

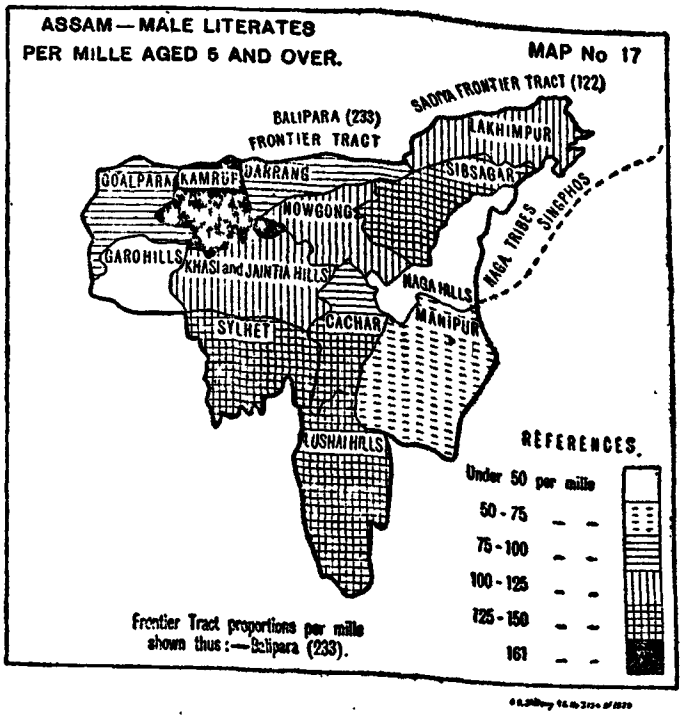


Males ☐ Females ■

These proportions do not look high but they compare favourably with those of several other provinces, though not with our nearest neighbours. In Bihar and Orissa literates per thousand aged 5 and over, both sexes taken together, number 51; in the North-West Frontier Province the figure is 0, in the Punjab it is 45, and in the United Provinces only 42. Bombay has 83, Madras 98, Bengal 104 and Burma 314; for the high percentage in Burma there is of course a special reason—the number of monastic schools.

The Brahmaputra Valley, with its larger number of immigrants and aboriginal tribes, naturally falls behind the Surma Valley in literacy. The hills division is a bad third because of the preponderance of animistic tribes; that the hills figures are as high as they are is due mainly to the Welsh Mission's efforts in the Khasi Hills.

Balipara Frontier Tract shows the highest percentage of literacy, for males and also for persons of both sexes taken together; but the whole district population is very small and the figures are therefore swollen unduly by the number of officials and literate members of the Assam Rifles at Lokra. Of regular districts, Kamrup leads with 91 literate persons in every thousand, owing to its high proportion (161 per mille) of male literates; this is doubtless due to its history of culture and the position of Gauhati as a past political and present educational centre. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills follows very closely because of its outstanding position in female literacy: the proportion of females who can read and write in these hills is 57 per mille—more than three times as much as that in any other district in the province. In the province as a whole, there is one woman who can read and write to every nine men of the same standard, while among the Khasis, although the number of literate men is higher than in several other districts, the proportion is nearly one woman to two men—a remarkable achievement of the Welsh Mission and the Khasi people.



Cachar plains is next to Kamrup in respect of male literacy, with 148 per mille. Sylhet, 17 literate females in every thousand, follows the Khasi Hills as a bad second in female education. The Lushai Hills is the most progressive hill district after the Khasi and Jaintia Hills: it has now passed several of the Assam Valley plains districts and, with the enormous growth of Christianity and apparent eagerness of the Lushais to absorb learning, is likely to take a very high place at next census.

The Naga Hills occupies the lowest place in the table for male literacy, and Manipur holds the female wooden spoon, with only 2 literate women per thousand. In Manipur only 35 in every thousand of both sexes have reached the census standard: the State compares very badly in this with many of the great Indian States. In Travancore the number is 214, in Baroda 147, in Mysore 85, in Rajputana (all States taken together) 39 per mille. The Central India Agency, however, shows only 36 and Kashmir only 26.

Turning to the age-groups in Subsidiary Table II we see that the proportion of literacy is greatest in almost all districts at ages 15—20, both for males and for females. As pointed out in the last report, this satisfactory result shows that education is progressing, because we may assume that the literates in this age group represent children who have been under instruction during the previous five years and have learnt at least enough to bring them to the census standard. The rise since last census is very marked in the case of girls, the proportion at the learning ages and just after being almost double that of 1911.

Retension of literacy.

105. It has been held in some quarters that large numbers of the children educated relapse into illiteracy within a few years of leaving school. By comparison of school attendance figures with census statistics the proportion thus falling back has been calculated to be as much

as 39 per cent.* There are certainly strong reasons for supposing that this relapse must take place. Causes assigned are the short school period, and the fact that schooling takes place at a very early age when its effects are easily effaced: those of the cultivating and other classes who go back to their village ancestral occupations after leaving the primary school have generally no occasion to practise their acquired learning, even to the extent of writing letters, and they are therefore likely to forget it.

To see whether the census could throw further light on this point, two sample districts, Kamrup and Cachar, have been selected and statistics for literates of the age group 20-30 (not shown in the ordinary tables) extracted for comparison with the figures of the group 10-20 of the last census. The persons aged 20-30 in 1921 are the survivors of the 10-20 group of 1911, with the addition of some immigrants. The immigrants can hardly swell greatly the number of literate persons: so we should expect the combined effects of death—though the specific death-rate at these ages is low—and of the relapse into illiteracy to cause a considerable fall in the numbers in the later age group. The figures set out in the margin exhibit a result far different. It would be unsafe to generalise from such limited areas and age groups and some error is probable in the return of ages. The increase of literates of both sexes in both districts is so marked, however, and so much greater in proportion than the whole increase of population at those ages, that an explanation must be sought from the experts of the Education Department. Although a few children may leave school half literate and may learn more in adult life, the inference that many persons acquire literacy some time after passing the ordinary school age is scarcely tenable. The result shown represents what the Director of Public Instruction has called "wastage gained on by accomplishment." This means that, although many may forget the rudiments learnt at school, many more have completed the school course than did so in former years. There has always been a tendency to send children to school for a year or two only, but this has given place in many cases to the practice of allowing them to complete a longer course. We may suppose therefore that in the decade under review more children were kept at school long enough to enable them to attain the census degree of literacy than in the previous decade. Mr. Cunningham points out also that an increase in the number of literates tends to increased retention of literacy, since the more educated persons there are in a community, the more opportunity there is for individuals to exercise their learning. Thus it is a necessary corollary of the large increase of numbers in educational institutions that there should be less relapse into illiteracy.

	Number of literate aged			
	10-20 in 1911.		20-30 in 1921.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.
Cachar Plains ...	5,811	578	11,464	1,067
Kamrup ...	8,930	563	13,511	1,082

106. Subsidiary Tables I and III give the literacy proportional statistics for followers of the main religions, by sex, age and district. Excluding the head "others", which includes Brahmos, Jain traders and Sikh skilled workmen who are of course usually literate, we find that Christians are the most literate, as might be expected from missionary educational work. Hindus come next in the proportion list, and have far the greatest absolute number of literate persons in the province, as theirs is the most numerous religion and the oldest in educational tradition.

Literacy by religion.

Of Indian Christians, one male in every four and one female in every eight over 5 years of age in the province can read and write. For the Hills the proportion is even higher, but in the Brahmaputra Valley it is lower, though still higher than that for any other religion. The Surma Valley proportions for Christians are very high, but the total number is small and the statistics are therefore scarcely comparable with those of other divisions.

Christians.

The success of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission in advancing education among its adherents (who form the great majority of the Presbyterians of the province) is shown by the figures in the marginal statement for literacy by sect.

Indian Christians—both sexes—1921.			
	Total.	Number literate.	Percentage literate, all ages.
Roman Catholics	4,877	679	13·9
Presbyterians ..	63 329	13,129	20·7
All other Protestants ...	60,669	7 737	12·7
Total ...	28.875	21 545	16·7

* Report on the progress of education in India, 1907—12, page 142.

Hindus.—Of Hindus, one male in every six in the province is literate, but only one female in 55. For both sexes the education of Hindus is more advanced in the Surma Valley than elsewhere; the proportion of literate Hindu females is 2·9 per cent.,—more than double that of the Brahmaputra Valley.

Buddhists.—The small Buddhist community follows next, some way behind Hindus, with 130 males and 8 females literate in every thousand of either sex. The proportion of literates shows very little improvement on that of last census.

Muhammadans.—The Musalmans have advanced somewhat in literacy since last census, but their proportional figures are still very low, 85 per mille (aged 5 and over) for males, and 5 per mille for females. In those districts showing high proportions for Muhammadans in Subsidiary Table III it must be noted that their total numbers are small and that there are many traders among them. Mr. McSwiney suggested in 1911 that the figures of female literacy in some of the Assam Valley districts indicated that the general freedom among their Hindu neighbours might have led to more advancement of the local Muhammadan community there. The absolute numbers are, however, too small for any serious deduction to be made: a few literate women in the families of foreign traders or Government servants would make a considerable impression on the figures per thousand. It is noticeable that in Nowgong the proportion of literate Muhammadans, both male and female, has decreased heavily; this is doubtless due to the influx of Bengali cultivators, generally Muhammadans from Mymensingh.

A reference to the age group figures in Subsidiary Table I will show that the Musalman lag in education occurs at all ages.

The proportionate fall behind the Hindu figures is even more marked at the learning ages than at the later periods: generally the percentage of literate to the total of Muhammadans is, for boys of school-going ages, considerably less than half the corresponding percentage of Hindus; while for girls, it is hardly more than one-fourth. In Sylhet, which contains about two-thirds of all the Musalmans in the province, and where Hindus are in a minority, the actual number of literate Hindus is more than double the corresponding number of Muhammadans for males; and for females the Hindu literates outnumber the Muhammadans by nearly seven to one.

The figures show clearly that, with the present conditions and apathetic attitude of Muhammadans in Assam they will never catch up the other communities in education; indeed, they are receding further from them.

Animists.—Animists have progressed somewhat in literacy, but not in as great a measure as the general provincial advance. The reason is that many in the hills and some in the plains are converted to Christianity; probably also some of the literate Animists of the plains become Hindus. The Lushai Hills has an exceptionally high number of male literate Animists, as was the case at the last census.

The influence of the mission schools in the Khasi Hills is reflected in the literacy figures for female Animists as well as for Christians, though in far less degree.

Literacy by caste or tribe.

107. Most of the selected Hindu and Animist castes and tribes in Subsidiary Table VI show a greatly increased proportion of literates. The Baidyas, Kayasthas and Brahmans as usual have a long lead over all others. There are only about 7,000 Baidyas in the province and some of these are people of Bengal, but their literacy figures are remarkable: more than four-fifths of their males and nearly three-fifths of their females over five years old attain the census standard. Although the Brahmans and Kayasthas approach near to them in male literacy, the Baidyas, female proportion is over three times that of their nearest competitors.

Telis, Baruis, Brittial Baniyas, Kalitas, Sudras, Suts, Napits and Kewats are creeping up: all of these have now over 10 per cent. literate in both sexes taken together. The figures for Brittial Baniyas would doubtless be higher but for the fact that many of the community adopted the single name of Baniya, and this section had not been selected for tabulation.

Chasi Kaibarttas show a decline: this is owing to the abandonment of the old name by many of them in favour of Mahisya as a caste name. It would have been fallacious to tabulate the Mahisyas with them in this comparative table, as the name Mahisya was adopted also by many who returned themselves as Patnis at previous censuses; the Patni caste figures show a decline in literacy for this very reason.

Nadiyals have a less percentage of literacy than they had in 1911 on account of adoption by many of a different caste name, usually Kaibartta. The most depressed

of the so-called depressed classes of Hindus do not show much progress. For instance, Namasudras still have only 36, Malos only 25 and Tantis only 10 literates per thousand. The Tanti figures, however, include a number of tea-garden coolies.

Of race-castes, excluding Christians, the Ahoms stand first (109 per mille literate), followed by Chutiyas, Koches and Rajbansis. Kshattriya generally represents Manipuris (though this caste name was used also by some Rajbansis and Kachari Hindus); their male literacy figure stands fairly well, but the female percentage is very low in spite of the freedom of women in Manipur. Garo and Mikir Animists hardly touch literacy, and the figures for the various Naga tribes (not tabulated) are still less. There is a decrease in the proportion of literate Kachari Hindus, owing partly to adoption of new caste names, and partly to influx of a number of illiterate Animists into the Hindu fold.

The attempt in Education Department reports to define depressed classes and aboriginal tribes, for differential treatment seems to have resulted in confusion. If we take literacy as indicating education, our returns show that almost every class in the province except Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas should be classed as educationally backward, as regards males; and as to the frailer sex, every class except Baidyas.

Literacy in English.

108. The statistics of those literate in English are compared for different ages and the two sexes in Subsidiary Table IV, and for religion and certain castes in I and VI. These figures give us a rough idea of the advance of secondary education, since in Assam it is generally only those that have read or are reading in secondary schools who know English. The tale is similar to that of primary education, as measured by the general literacy figures. The proportions have increased greatly and there are now 19 males and 1 female who know English in every thousand of the respective sexes over five years old. Excluding "other" religions, with its number of well-educated Brahmos, the Christians are far ahead among followers of the different religions in their proportion of English literacy. Hindus follow, with Buddhists and Muhammadans a bad third and fourth respectively; Animists are of course nowhere.

Baidyas keep far ahead of all other castes; more than half their males and one female in every sixteen know English. Other castes show great advances on 1911, but there are still quite a number in which not one woman in 10,000 has any literate English knowledge.

The Khasi and Jaintia Hills is the leading district, owing to the Mission schools. In the plains, Lakhimpur and Sibsagar have the lead, probably owing to the large number of tea gardens with European managers and literate Indian staffs.

The proportion of those who know English to the total number of literate people is about one to seven for the whole province, but they are unevenly distributed. Some of the more advanced castes of Hindus and some of the hills people who have come under missionary influence keep up the proportion; most of the other classes tend to lower it. For instance, Patnis have one English-knowing person to 24 other literates, Malos one to 90, Rajbansis one to 14. In the great trading caste of Vaisya Sahas one out of every nine literates knows English.

Progress of literacy and education.

109. Subsidiary Table V shows the progress in literacy as recorded at the last five censuses. In all districts a steady increase in the proportion of literate persons appears, for both sexes, except in certain parts of the hills between 1901 and 1911. Figures for 1881 and 1891 are not very reliable, because of the differences in census definitions explained in paragraph 103 above; the decrease in proportion noted in the hills was explained in the last report as being due to the defective instructions of 1901 which had allowed of many persons who could read but could not write being entered as literate in that year. The age period 15—20 is probably the best test-period for progress, as it is a guide to the number of children who have been under effective instruction during the preceding quinquennium. A comparison of the literacy figures for these ages shows that since 1911 the proportion of literates among males has increased by over 30 per cent., while the female proportion has almost doubled. These increases are distributed fairly uniformly in the divisions and districts, though the Surma Valley and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills show a rather more rapid progress than other parts.

The figures are for literacy; how far the increases may be taken as showing real progress in education is a question best left to the reports of the Education Department. From Subsidiary Table VII it will be seen that the number of institutions has increased greatly in the decennium.

Financial stringency has caused a small drop in the number of public institutions since the close of the census, but at the same time the number of private schools has increased slightly. The latter result is probably due in part to the Nationalist movement with its policy of attempting to combine politics with education. Several new National secondary schools have sprung up, but it appears that they too are suffering from the prevailing want of funds: some are tottering and others have already crumbled into dust.

The number of public secondary schools has more than doubled in the decade and this is reflected in the census statistics of those literate in English, the 1921 figure being more than twice that of 1911. Unfortunately the great expansion of secondary education has been accompanied lately by a lowering of the standard of the Calcutta University matriculation examination. Increasing numbers of boys continue therefore to obtain the hall-mark of competency for clerical service under Government but find no posts awaiting them. Nor can private service in offices and like positions absorb the ever increasing number of passed matriculates and others who have to leave school and stop their education owing to want of means. As a result the cry has gone up for more technical education; but it is to be feared that no better fate will await the students of technical institutions than that of their brothers who have had a literary education, unless the number and scope of industrial undertakings in the province show more tendency to increase than can be foreseen at present.

The opinions of my correspondents, non-official as well as official, are almost unanimous that the first object of those embracing education is material and social advancement; in a few cases only, generally in the hills, it is suggested that religious reasons combine with the material, while pure desire of learning for learning's sake is hardly mentioned.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharji, M.A., of Gauhati, says:—

"Education is desired nowadays for material and consequently for social advancement. Money is the only thing now cared for —— and that comes from education ..."

From Sibsagar, Srijut Ratnadhar Barua writes:—

"Education is desired only for material advancement, specially service or appointment under Government or private companies. Even the people of the agricultural classes do not like it —— or they think it beneath their dignity to plough in their own fields only if they have read in schools. School education has deprived the people of the sense of the dignity of labour."

An opposite opinion from Sibsagar is given by Pandit G. D. Misra, Vidyabhusan, who says:—

"Unlike Bengal, education here is sought by all classes of society in all its diverse forms..... The villagers want to acquire the capacity for reading the Government notices and circulars, and religious books. The vogue of newspaper and magazine reading is also spreading apace."

Babu Dwijesh Chandra Chakravartty, Dewan of Gauripur Raj, Goalpara, remarks that in addition to the material motive, the instinct of education runs in families among the higher castes, while "lower castes look upon education as a common leveller, and this social advancement is no mean factor in inducing people to educate their children."

The same point is noted by Babu Jagannath De of Silchar. He quotes Chanakya's dictum "an educated man is respected everywhere" and notes that the so-called unclean castes have risen much in the social scale by means of education; they can mix with the higher castes on an equal footing in schools and offices; they can also improve their manners and customs and thus mix more easily with members of other castes—for example, the Yogis and Patnis of Cachar are said to have gained much in this way by education.

As to female education, there has been a general expansion of the liberal view and as shown above the census figures reflect this. Opinions are divided as to the effect of education on girls. One correspondent says "They neglect domestic and other works that are considered mean and derogatory, such as drawing water, husking paddy, cleansing utensils and cow-houses, cooking, etc." But another writes "They do not appear to neglect their domestic work at this stage of their education." Girls of the Ao Nagas, educated by the American Baptist Mission, are said to neglect their field work, and cases are quoted of their falling into immorality through idling in the villages. But they carry on domestic work in their houses as before.

The opinions I have quoted are samples of a large number I have received and they apply partly to primary and partly to secondary education. The conclusion is that, for boys and girls alike, elements of both good and evil emerge from our present system of education. Expense is the great obstacle to a wider expansion. Primary education is free in Assam, though not yet compulsory anywhere. The cost of clothes, slates and books, however, is prohibitive in many cases for the poor cultivator. A boy at home can look after the cattle or help in other ways, and he need wear only a meagre loin-cloth, if anything at all; at school he will be expected to appear in a respectable *dhoti* and will have to spend something for the necessaries of learning. Our figures for the number of literate children under 15 years of age are far below the numbers shewn in the departmental returns as reading in schools. The reasons for this appear to be, first, the large proportion (as yet illiterate) in the lowest classes of primary schools struggling with the alphabet or the first reader, and second, the question of expense which compels parents to remove scholars before they have completed a proper course.

Literacy on tea gardens.

110. The abysmal ignorance of book-learning among the manual labourers on tea gardens is well known. A few years ago attempts were made to introduce primary education among the coolies, with the co-operation of garden managers. Three types of school were proposed—Government, aided private and unaided private; managers who agreed were allowed to choose which type of school should be established. All the schools were free. The result has been a dismal failure. A few managers were enthusiastic; many were indifferent. Some, considering that education would cause a distaste for manual labour when the children grew up, were hostile or merely tolerant. The number of schools originally sanctioned was not reached in practice, and most of those actually started have faded away. Most of the coolies themselves were averse from the scheme. They saw in the hours spent on education by their children a loss to the family income, since children can, and do, earn wages for certain kinds of garden work.

Provincial Table VII shows the present state of literacy on the gardens. Unfortunately no separate statistics were compiled at the last census, so that comparison is impossible.

The statement in the margin gives a summary of the literacy condition of the coolies in 1921. It will be seen that the "others", that is the staff, shopkeepers, etc., and their families living on the tea gardens provide nearly three times as many literates as the coolies do, although the coolies are twenty or thirty times as numerous as the others. The percentage of coolie literates is a little greater if the other garden population be subtracted from the total, but it still stands at only a fraction of the provincial proportion.

—	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Total tea population.	922,245	470,995	451,250
Literate coolies ...	5,858	5,570	288
Others literate, on tea gardens.	16,624	14,417	2,207
Proportion of literate coolies per mille of garden population.	6·4	12	0·6

Indigenous systems.

111. Although it is doubtful whether the departmental returns from which Subsidiary Table VII has been made are accurate as regards private institutions, it is generally acknowledged that the number of *tols* and *maktabs* is diminishing. The recent political movements had some reviving effect on private and local Muhammadan institutions, but their number, as well as that of *tols*, fluctuates. Owing to economic conditions, people cannot afford to pay Pandits and Maulvis regularly; the education imparted does not offer any prospect of material gain and those who can afford to join only or religious instruction are few. Moreover, Sanskrit and Arabic are studied in school in comparatively shorter time and, in the opinion of some, as well as in the indigenous institutions.

A Sanskrit College has been started recently by Government at Sylhet.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Literacy by age, sex and religion.

Religion.	Number per mille who are literate.											Number per mille who are literate in English (all ages, 5 and over.)		
	All ages, 5 and over.			5—10		10—15		15—20		20 and over.				
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
ALL RELIGIONS	72	124	14	35	9	110	21	164	23	150	13	10	19	1
Hindu	97	167	18	53	12	155	28	220	31	193	16	14	26	1
Musalman	47	85	5	20	3	69	8	108	8	110	5	6	10	...
Christian	214	293	136	59	53	223	157	391	205	363	139	56	82	30
Indian Christians ...	*193*	*269*	*120*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*32*	*50*	*14*
Other Christians ...	*966*	*966*	*966*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*939*	*960*	*897*
Animist	10	19	2	4	1	14	3	25	3	23	2	1	2	...
Buddhist	79	130	8	17	5	61	...	134	9	164	10	8	13	...
Others	519	650	201	222	147	609	163	692	197	709	225	82	91	62

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Literacy by age, sex and locality.

District and Natural Division.	Number per mille who are literate.										
	For all ages 5 and over.			5—10.		10—15.		15—20.		20 and over.	
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ASSAM	**72**	**124**	**14**	**35**	**9**	**110**	**21**	**164**	**23**	**150**	**13**
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	**70**	**121**	**11**	**34**	**7**	**111**	**17**	**161**	**20**	**143**	**10**
Goalpara ...	56	95	9	23	6	83	15	117	14	118	8
Kamrup ...	91	161	14	47	9	163	21	224	24	189	12
Darrang ...	52	91	7	24	4	73	10	120	14	109	6
Nowgong ...	67	115	12	31	8	106	21	146	21	140	11
Sibsagar ...	80	138	13	40	9	127	18	190	24	163	12
Lakhimpur ...	62	104	11	30	8	84	16	137	21	125	10
Sadiya ...	74	122	10	23	7	81	11	134	21	148	8
Balipara ...	170	233	19	57	27	78	26	205	40	263	12
SURMA VALLEY ...	**83**	**145**	**16**	**45**	**10**	**127**	**25**	**191**	**25**	**176**	**15**
Cachar Plains ...	85	148	15	36	9	115	19	203	26	184	14
Sylhet ...	83	145	17	47	11	129	27	189	25	175	15
HILLS	**46**	**77**	**16**	**12**	**6**	**58**	**23**	**101**	**28**	**98**	**16**
Garo Hills ...	22	36	7	4	2	25	14	52	13	46	6
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	90	123	57	31	23	114	76	165	96	146	56
North Cachar ...	44	76	7	12	4	27	11	60	5	104	7
Naga Hills ...	18	31	5	7	2	28	7	52	11	34	4
Lushai Hills ...	72	141	10	4	2	55	12	185	18	190	10
Manipur ...	35	71	2	8	1	49	2	82	3	94	2

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Literacy by religion, sex and locality.

District and Natural Division.	Number per mille who are literate.							
	Hindu.		Musalman.		Christian.		Animist.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASSAM	167	18	85	5	293	136	19	2
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	148	13	85	9	230	94	15	1
Goalpara	141	14	49	3	204	67	18	1
Kamrup	206	15	100	14	366	219	25	1
Darrang	107	9	111	5	169	42	13	1
Nowgong	169	16	69	11	250	159	15	...
Sibsagar	144	12	255	37	242	93	14	2
Lakhimpur	115	11	267	53	216	77	8	1
Sadiya	197	16	256	57	375	190	9	1
Balipara	273	28	350	143	380	57	18	...
SURMA VALLEY	212	29	85	4	450	282	24	1
Cachar Plains	167	20	115	4	384	237	20	...
Sylhet	225	32	81	4	507	326	30	3
HILLS	125	7	78	6	314	146	22	3
Garo Hills	98	6	51	3	333	133	7	1
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	321	144	402	148	383	257	39	8
North Cachar	82	3	307	25	226	175	...	...
Naga Hills	272	37	200	25	153	65	6	...
Lushai Hills	307	69	31	...	272	26	75	2
Manipur	105	1	34	1	256	91	6	...

Note.—The figures in this table are for persons of 5 years of age and over only.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

English literacy by age, sex and locality—3 Censuses.

District and Natural Division.	Literate in English per 10,000.													
	1921.								1921.		1911.		1901.	
	5—10.		10—15.		15—20.		20 and over		All ages 5 and over.		All ages 5 and over.		All ages 5 and over.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
ASSAM	12	4	148	15	374	19	226	11	189	11	111	5	71	5
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	14	3	160	14	393	19	236	19	205	11	127	5	88	7
Goalpara	11	2	129	13	248	14	150	6	129	7	78	2	54	2
Kamrup	15	3	180	13	495	17	226	9	203	9	106	4	65	2
Darrang	8	1	70	3	236	5	188	7	147	6	92	4	77	4
Nowgong	6	4	115	13	291	27	197	9	158	10	111	4	60	2
Sibsagar	20	4	239	16	565	22	336	14	287	13	177	6	118	16
Lakhimpur	18	5	153	23	412	31	337	21	266	19	186	10	140	10
Sadiya	26	4	154	...	223	25	263	11	215	10	*	*	*	*
Balipara	...	...	87	...	...	...	165	33	132	19	*	*	*	*
SURMA VALLEY	10	2	158	11	425	13	225	7	193	7	103	2	56	1
Cachar Plains	7	3	119	15	370	24	229	10	185	11	127	6	37	5
Sylhet	10	2	165	10	435	11	224	6	194	6	99	2	59	1
HILLS	12	9	80	30	176	35	155	21	122	22	81	13	70	12
Garo Hills	1	1	16	4	44	8	73	5	49	5	23	1	15	4
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	45	37	203	106	474	138	390	79	313	82	234	51	192	41
North Cachar	37	5	68	105	221	23	256	40	195	41	119	7	134	15
Naga Hills	6	2	29	4	82	10	77	6	60	6	27	2	32	2
Lushai Hills	...	...	5	2	115	2	112	6	79	4	47	3	53	2
Manipur	1	...	25	3	107	2	92	2	68	1	38	1	14	1

* Figures not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Progress of literacy since 1881.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	Number of literate per mille.																					
	All ages, 10 and over.										15-20.						20 and over.					
	Male.					Female.					Male.			Female.			Male.			Female.		
	1921.	1911.	1901.	*1891.	†1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1921.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
ASSAM	144	117	89	83	36	15	8	6	3	1	164	126	92	23	12	8	150	11	94	13	7	5
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	140	116	79	71	34	12	6	4	2	1	161	129	85	20	10	6	143	119	82	10	5	4
Goalpara ...	112	103	68	66	30	10	5	3	2	1	117	94	63	14	8	3	118	111	73	8	5	3
Kamrup ...	188	145	97	66	33	15	7	3	1	...	224	172	116	24	12	5	189	144	100	12	5	3
Darrang ...	104	83	68	60	30	8	4	4	2	1	120	86	72	14	7	6	109	87	72	6	3	3
Nowgong ...	135	132	74	65	27	13	7	2	2	...	146	141	72	21	11	3	140	135	79	11	5	2
Sibsagar ...	160	122	79	81	39	14	7	6	2	1	190	143	88	24	12	8	163	123	81	12	6	5
Lakhimpur ...	119	107	80	90	42	12	7	6	3	2	137	121	85	21	11	6	125	109	84	10	6	6
Sadiya ...	138	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	134	...	...	21	...	...	148	...	...	8	...	...
Balipara ...	247	...	...	...	...	18	...	...	...	...	205	...	...	40	...	...	263	...	...	12	...	...
SURMA VALLEY	169	135	110	104	60	18	9	5	3	1	191	142	108	25	11	6	176	139	118	15	7	5
Cachar Plains	174	147	119	127	59	17	9	5	3	1	203	157	117	26	13	6	184	151	130	14	8	4
Sylhet ...	168	132	108	100	60	18	8	5	3	1	189	139	106	25	11	6	175	136	115	15	7	5
HILLS ...	91	65	54	38	20	18	11	12	8	3	101	73	59	28	18	20	96	69	57	16	10	10
Garo Hills ...	43	30	21	19	8	8	3	3	2	...	52	40	21	13	5	5	46	31	24	6	3	2
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	149	113	108	63	34	65	41	44	17	8	165	117	122	96	65	66	146	119	110	56	34	35
North Cachar	87	65	87	17	1	8	5	6	...	...	60	38	57	5	8	5	104	77	96	7	5	7
Naga Hills ...	35	22	34	22	14	5	1	2	1	...	52	24	39	11	2	3	34	24	36	4	1	2
Lushai Hills ...	166	110	71	...	...	12	4	2	...	...	185	119	99	18	7	2	190	124	78	10	3	1
Manipur ...	85	58	27	...	...	2	2	1	...	...	82	66	22	3	2	1	94	60	31	2	2	1

* Persons over 15 years of age returned as learning in 1891 have been treated as literate.

† Statistics of literacy by age for 1881 are not available: the figures in columns 6 and 11 represent the proportion of those returned as literate and learning, to the total population of all ages.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Literacy by Caste.

Caste or Race.	Number per 1,000 aged 5 and over who are literate.						Number per 10,000 aged 5 and over who are literate in English.					
	1921.			1911.			1921.			1911.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Ahom	**109**	197	11	**73**	136	4	**224**	420	7	**106**	200	2
Baidya	**704**	817	570	**654**	833	437	**3,075**	5,088	667	**2,773**	4,838	215
Barui	**164**	291	26	**110**	209	6	**128**	246	...	**47**	91	...
Bhuinmali ...	**42**	86	...	**23**	43	1	**7**	14	...	**4**	7	...
Brahman ...	**438**	721	114	**375**	623	64	**914**	1,661	58	**567**	1,007	13
Brittial Baniya ...	**150**	232	58	*	*	*	**307**	569	16	*	*	*
Chutiya ...	**94**	175	6	**60**	113	2	**119**	227	2	**49**	94	...
Dhoba	**65**	118	12	**25**	47	2	**17**	32	...	**4**	8	...
Garo (Animist) ...	**6**	11	1	**2**	3	...	**11**	23	...	...	1	...
Goala	**55**	91	5	**35**	60	3	**48**	81	4	**14**	24	1
Kachari (Hindu) ...	**42**	78	4	**56**	99	2	**60**	114	2	**88**	160	1
Kachari (Animist)	**11**	21	...	**9**	18	...	**6**	13	...	**2**	4	...
Kaibartta Chasi ...	**34**	61	4	**95**	170	10	**40**	68	8	**68**	127	1
Kalita ...	**145**	255	20	**95**	174	6	**215**	396	8	**97**	185	...
Kamar ...	**29**	54	2	**2**	100	2	**25**	47	2	**21**	41	...
Kayastha ...	**429**	629	167	**413**	644	138	**1,143**	1,997	117	**963**	1,743	29
Kewat ...	**104**	188	10	**71**	134	4	**128**	240	4	**72**	140	1
Khasi (Animist) ...	**32**	54	11	**28**	47	11	**47**	91	6	**39**	78	5
Koch	**85**	155	7	**54**	103	8	**94**	178	2	**39**	76	...
Kshattriya ...	**73**	145	4	**57**	112	2	**125**	253	2	**23**	47	...
Kumhar ...	**84**	152	9	**50**	99	2	**84**	157	3	**47**	94	...
Mali	**53**	94	6	*	*	*	**20**	38	...	*	*	*
Malo	**25**	45	...	**21**	39	1	**3**	5	...	**4**	8	...
Mikir (Animist) ...	**4**	7	...	**4**	8	...	**2**	4	...	**1**	3	...
Nadiyal ...	**41**	73	4	**45**	85	4	**34**	63	1	**34**	65	1
Namasudra ...	**36**	67	4	**26**	49	1	**21**	40	1	**3**	5	...
Napit	**105**	194	11	**73**	139	4	**74**	139	5	**24**	36	...
Patni	**25**	45	2	**42**	76	5	**10**	18	1	**9**	18	...
Rajbansi ...	**84**	154	5	67	126	3	**57**	106	2	**20**	39	...
Sudra	**133**	239	22	**103**	191	9	118	227	4	**62**	119	...
Sut	**107**	189	12	*	*	*	**111**	204	5	*	*	*
Sutradhar ...	**86**	158	7	**56**	103	2	**47**	88	1	**11**	21	...
Tanti	**10**	19	1	**10**	19	1	**12**	20	2	**17**	32	1
Teli	**180**	327	21	**124**	229	13	**187**	356	36	**58**	112	...
Yogi	**98**	178	13	**69**	130	6	**53**	101	2	**21**	41	...

* Not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Number of Institutions and pupils according to the returns of the Education Department.

Class of Institution.	1921.		1911.		1901.		1891.	
	Number of—		Number of—		Number of—		Number of—	
	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ALL KINDS	5,095	231,591	4,118	168,250	3,458	109,800	2,640	78,784
PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.	4,844	223,523	3,939	162,193	3,196	104,308	2,355	72,995
Arts Colleges	2	846	2	230	1	49	...	...
Law College	1	60	...	...	...	...	...	...
Secondary Schools ...	335	40,088	157	20,836	150	13,980	110	10,309
Primary „	4,407	179,754	3,658	136,527	3,006	89,050	2,222	62,145
Training „	11	447	9	361	22	380	16	331
Other special „	88	2,328	113	4,239	17	849	7	210
PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS	251	8,068	179	6,057	262	5,492	285	5,789
Advanced	24	920	19	710	89	2,431	96	1,852
Elementary	40	1,520	25	354	1	18	19	462
Teaching the Koran only ...	98	2,817	117	3,957	166	2,916	162	3,168
Other schools not conforming to the departmental standard.	89	2,811	18	1,036	6	127	8	307

CHAPTER IX.

LANGUAGE.

Scope of Chapter.

112. Before the last Census most of the volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India had been published. The introductory volume, with classification and index, is not yet available, but the Director, Sir George Grierson, has issued a pamphlet comparing the 1911 census figures with the Survey figures, which were based on enquiries and reports of local officers made in 1896 and the following years. We have had also the benefit of advance copies of his index of language name. It has therefore been possible to place almost all the languages returned in their proper places and to merge the returns of dialects into their true languages. In the present report it is necessary only to discuss the statistics with reference to the distribution of languages in the province to compare them with those of the Survey and of previous censuses and to interpret any important variations. Dialects are not dealt with separately, but in one or two cases (*e.g.*, the Santali and Mundari dialects of Kherwari) they have been shown in Table X for comparison with the figures of 1911.

No new languages have appeared at this census; a few spoken by small numbers have disappeared, but the reason of this is probably that they have been reported under some other language of which they were only dialects, or that the speakers have left the province. A few languages spoken in other parts of India appear for the first time, with small numbers of speakers: the chief of these is Chin (unspecified)—due to immigration of Chins from the Chin Hills of Burma. Of three new languages reported at the last census, two, Chote and Vaiphei, have been recorded again with somewhat increased numbers, both occurring only in Manipur. The third, Tarau, has disappeared: the reason is probably that it was recorded as one of the Kuki-Chin languages or Kuki (unspecified). Lieutenant-Colonel Shakespear found only 18 households* of Tarau, living close to the Burma road, so that another possibility is that the village has moved across into Burma. On the other hand, 30 speakers of Täruw are recorded for the first time. These are all males and appear to be visitors from Burma: their language should be more correctly described as Danu.

The statistics of language are contained in Imperial Table X for the whole population, and in Provincial Table VIII for the tea garden population. At compilation dialects were placed under their proper language heads, with the help of the Index, but no attempt has been made either in the main tables or in the subsidiary tables attached to this chapter to make any rearrangement based on birthplace or religion. At enumeration such factors had of course to be considered by officers dealing with the usual doubtful tea garden entries: I have noted on this in paragraph 114 below, with especial reference to Hindi.

Scheme of classification.

113. There is very little change in classification from that adopted in 1911. Mikir, which was noted at the last census as a connecting link between the Nagas and the Kuki-Chins, is now placed definitely by Sir George Grierson in the Naga-Kuki sub-group of the Naga group. Kandhi or Kui has been moved from the Andhra group to the Intermediate group of the Dravidian family. For the rest, we have to note only a few changes in the nomenclature of the higher groups such as sub-families and branches. In Imperial Table X, for convenience of reference languages have been shown alphabetically under different heads:—vernaculars of Assam, of India (outside Assam) and of countries beyond India.

Four great families of languages, Austric, Indo-European, Tibeto-Chinese and Dravidian, are represented in Assam, the first three being spoken by indigenous peoples and the last only by tea garden immigrants. The latest classification of the Linguistic Survey is shown in Subsidiary Table I for all but very minor languages, whose speakers have been included in the higher groups without the language-names being shown separately.

Excluding the returns of Naga and Kuki unspecified, no less than 101 distinct languages were recorded at this census. Of these, 52 are languages of Assam, 37 of

* Shakespear.—The Lushei-Kuki clans, 1912, p. 173.

other parts of India, 6 of Asia outside India, and six are European languages. It should be noted that several vernaculars of Nepal have been included under "other parts of India" because they belong to Darjeeling district and Sikkim as well as to Nepal.

Those returned by small numbers of people have generally been included in "others" in Imperial Table X and details by sex and district have not been given in any Appendix such as was printed in 1911. The details have been supplied to the Director of the Linguistic Survey and have been left on record at Shillong.

Accuracy of the return.

114. The Census tries to record the language ordinarily used by each person in his own home, entries for infants and deaf-mutes following the language of the mother. In a country with various races and numerous immigrants from distant parts, difficulties are bound to arise: bilingual tribes, illiterate coolies speaking different types of tea garden *patois*, and ignorant or indifferent enumerators combine in Assam to exacerbate the ordinary difficulties of a language return.

In the last census report (paragraph 100) Mr. McSwiney remarked "I am afraid that the return of language in Assam will always be marred by a certain amount of inaccuracy, though no doubt the error will show a gradual diminution at each successive census...." At this census the prophecy has been fulfilled as to the first part; the second part is probably true as regards the Tibeto-Burman languages, but as to the entries of Bengali and Hindi I fear inaccuracy is as great as before in the large tea districts of the Assam Valley. Our old friend "coolie-bāt" arose with all its former strength, and Assamese enumerators were as prone as ever to enter "Bengali" for any language that was foreign to them.

The tables of birthplace show that the number of persons born in Bengal and censused in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur has remained about the same, 23,000, and the number of tea garden immigrants from Bengal in the whole province has actually fallen from 35,000 to 28,000. Yet the number of Bengali speakers in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur (both districts untouched by the new influx of Eastern Bengal cultivating settlers) stands at 236,000 against the 204,000 of the last census. The increase might possibly be accounted for by natural growth, had the original number in 1911 really been all speakers of Bengali as recorded; but the figure remains at too high a level and cannot be accounted for wholly by immigrants from Bengal and their descendants. In the other districts of the Valley the increase of Bengali-speakers is more in consonance with the statistics of immigration and natural growth, though Darrang shows signs of the tendency found for the two districts already mentioned; the Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong also complained of the difficulty. Every endeavour was made by District and Subdivisional Census Officers to arrive at the true facts and to train the census staff to do so. Nevertheless our returns are certainly vitiated to some extent by the real impossibility of diagnosing the language of tea coolies, as well as by the laziness of some, and the ignorance of most, enumerators.

In Sibsagar, Mr. Mullan, the Subdivisional Officer, gave much personal attention to the problem and proved again that the difficulty was a very real one. After close questioning of many coolies, and with literate Assamese and Bengali helpers, he was still unable properly to place the ordinary "coolie-bāt" or mixture of Hindustani, Bengali and Assamese. He was, however, able to eliminate the common error of entering Bengali in many cases. Generally it was necessary to enter Hindi for all such returns as "deswali," "coolie-bāt," "Farsi" (except when religion and condition indicated a real speaker of Persian), "Manjhi-bhasha", etc., since they approach the ordinary colloquial Hindustani of Upper India more nearly than anything else. In some parts, however, it was found that the *patois* spoken by *ex*-coolies and their children born in Assam contained a greater mixture of Assamese than of other languages: in such cases the entry made was Assamese. For similar reasons the entry of Bihari was considered to be too untrustworthy to be taken as the true Bihari language of the Linguistic Survey: accordingly, Bihari also has been merged in Hindi. As it is almost impossible even approximately to divide the Hindi-speakers into speakers of Eastern and Western Hindi and Bihari, I have shown the entry Hindi in Subsidiary Table I in its correct place (according to the Index) as representing a form of the Hindustani dialect of Western Hindi, *i.e.*, in the Inner Sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan languages. [See also remarks in paragraph 120, end part.]

With definite tribal languages of districts of other parts of India also difficulties arose but local officers were able to surmount these in most cases with the help of caste and birthplace data, maps, tea-garden registers, the census code list of languages and general enquiries. Probably a certain number of speakers of such languages

have been entered wrongly under Hindi or Bengali but it may be taken that there is more accuracy in the Dravidian and Munda language entries than in those of Hindi and Bengali in the tea districts of the Upper Brahmaputra Valley.

As a typical instance of the troubles, the case of North Lakhimpur Subdivision may be quoted. Mr. Cantlie writes in his report—

"The old entry Bengali for coolies. One entry was Daffla. The explanation given was that these jungly coolies spoke an unintelligible tongue similar to Dafla in barbarity. The fact is that neither manager, clerks nor myself could definitely say what "coolie bāt" should be called. Coolies born in Assam are nearer Assamese than anything else, but this seldom appears in the schedules. In some books I corrected nearly every entry. I made Santals Santali, Mundas Mundari, Telingas Telugu, Oriyas Oriya, Central Provincial Hindi, Purulia and Midnapur Bengali, Ranchi Hindi .....The clerks wanted to put Bengali for nearly all Bihar coolies. Many certainly used Bengali endings to verbs. I put Hindi in most cases. A number of Bengali entries remain on the schedules which are doubtful.....The results are a fair approximation to correct but were attained in spite of apathy and opposition in all gardens save two or three where the head man was keen and taught me. From these one or two observant men I corrected all the other gardens....."

For some tribes it may be that Mr. Cantlie's somewhat sweeping method has resulted in error of the opposite extreme; for it must be remembered that erosion often occurs in the original tribal language before the immigrants leave their homes.* On the whole, however, I agree that his results are a fair approximation to accuracy.

This officer was fortunate in having fewer gardens in his subdivision than there are in most other tea districts; he was therefore able, in spite of limited time, to give more personal attention to the matter than could be given elsewhere.

The difficulty of the bilingual tribes occurred again in the Brahmaputra Valley, but there is reason to believe that instruction of enumerators and supervision by higher officials have resulted in a fair standard of accuracy; here also we have a real difficulty in that some languages are really being ousted by others—this point is discussed in paragraph 123 below.

In the Surma Valley much greater accuracy may be presumed, although there also the tea garden entries probably include many of doubtful value.

In the Hills, where tribal names generally go with language or dialect names there is not likely to be much error. Moreover, District Officers in the Hills have a close knowledge of what dialects are spoken in their charges and, with the non-synchronous census, were usually able personally to examine many entries. In the newly censused Konyak territory of the Naga Hills, the language was generally returned as Naga (unspecified)—probably owing to employment of a foreign enumerator. On the advice of the Deputy Commissioner and the Subdivisional Officer it has been tabulated as Konyak, with 6,620 speakers: this includes both Tamlu and Tableng, which are classified as distinct languages in the Linguistic Survey, the number of speakers of each being estimated therein at 2,500. The villages of the two are mixed up and sometimes speakers of both live in the same village. The two languages were not returned separately at this census.

The language question in Goalpara.

115. In Goalpara the same conflict between Bengali and Assamese arose as at the last Census. This was described fully in the 1911 report, paragraph 101, and I need only write now of the 1921 developments.

Political considerations enter here, and when I visited Goalpara in 1920 there were rumours of regular propaganda being started by the advocates of the rival languages in the subdivision. Nothing important happened, however, and the census officer proposed solving the difficulty by ordering that the language should be entered as that returned by each person for himself. As this was not likely to result in a true record, the Deputy Commissioner was asked to issue such orders as he thought fit to ensure compliance with the census requirements. Accordingly, the language question was taken out of the hands of the subordinate census staff as far as possible, and instructions were given for the language taught in the village school to be entered for the corresponding area. Even this however, was found to be unsatisfactory in several instances; the Deputy Commissioner then personally tested the language in the doubtful areas and made corrections where necessary.

* Census of India, 1911, Report, pages 332-333.

In the Central Provinces and Berar, Mr. Marten noted in 1911 that Hindi and Marathi had ousted Gondi from the homes of more than half the Gond population; and the strength of the Oraon tribe outnumbered the speakers of Oraon by some 7,000 persons.

The final return shows a district proportion of Assamese to Bengali speakers somewhat less than the corrected estimate of Mr. McSwiney made in 1911, and much greater than the tabulated figures of 1911 would show. Allowing for immigration of new Bengali settlers, therefore, I think that this year's figures show a fair degree of accuracy in Goalpara.

To illustrate the difficulty in this district, I quote the opinion of a former Chief Commissioner, who had an intimate knowledge of rural life in the province. He said "We may take it as a settled fact that, so long as we attempt to work upon a basis of 'Bengali' and 'Assamese' the language statistics of Goalpara district will be worthless. The plain fact is that the people of Goalpara district all speak 'Goalpari'. At the Bengal end they speak it with a tinge of Bengali; at the Assam end with a tinge of Assamese; and in the middle with a tinge of both".

Sir George Grierson says that the language spoken in western and south-western Goalpara is pure Rajbangsi, which is a well-marked dialect of Bengali, and he names the dialect of the eastern part of the district western Assamese, which is Assamese influenced by the Rajbangsi dialect of Bengali spoken immediately to the west.*

Linguistic distribution general.

116. Subsidiary Table I shows the total number of speakers of the important languages in thousands in 1911 and 1921 and their proportion per mille of the population in the latter year.

Subsidiary Table II gives the distribution by districts, as proportions in 10,000 of the population of all languages spoken by over 2 per cent. of the people in the whole province. Local distribution of the rest may be found from Imperial Table X. For detailed accounts of the structure and affinities of the various languages and of their distribution in India, reference should be made to the volumes of the Linguistic Survey.

With the help of Grierson's Index we find that almost all the languages recorded, including most of the "others" in Imperial Table X, fall into one of the four great families. The number not so falling (unclassed gypsy languages, etc.) is less than 1,000 and has no appreciable effect on the general proportions. Speakers (actual numbers) of all the four families have increased considerably since the last census, but in varying degrees. The present distribution and that of 1911 are shown in the margin as proportions in a thousand of the population.

Language family.	1921.	1911.
Austric ...	58	49
Tibeto-Chinese	179	190
Dravidian ...	12	8
Indo-European...	751	753
Speakers ...	1,000	1,000

The Indo-European family maintains its position with little change, dominating all the others with over three-fourths of the population speaking one or other of its languages. The loss in proportion of the Tibeto-Chinese family is due chiefly to immigration, shown in the corresponding gains of the Austric and Dravidian families; the extra speakers in these two families are Mundas, Santals, Oraons, etc., in the tea gardens.

Austric Family.

117. There are two sub-families of this family, the Austro-Nesian and the Austro-Asiatic. Only the latter is represented in Assam: it has two branches, the *Mon-Khmer* and the *Munda*.

Khasi.

Khasi forms a group by itself and is the sole representative in Assam of the *Mon-Khmer* branch. It is an island of speech in a definite area, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, surrounded by Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages. The number of Khasi speakers has increased by 3,000 to nearly 204,000; the smallness of the increase is due to influenza, for the language grows with the tribe and contact with plains people or foreigners has no absorptive effect on Khasi. The work of the Welsh Missionaries in preserving and improving its literature is well known. The Survey figures are too low simply on account of the lapse of time.

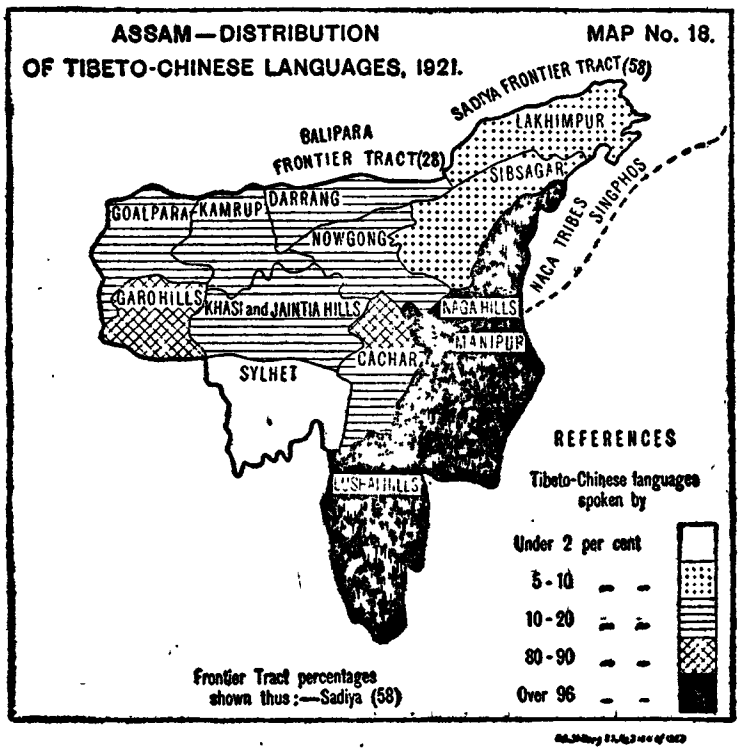
Munda languages.

In the *Munda* Branch, speakers have nearly doubled in the decade. All are coolies or *ex*-coolies of tea gardens, and most of them speak Mundari, Santali or one of the other dialects of the Kherwari language. Although some who should have been shown as speakers of these languages have been entered as speaking Bengali or Hindi, the language figures, except for Santali, approach more nearly to the tribal figures than was the case in 1911, and I think therefore that there is more accuracy here than at last census.

* Linguistic Survey of India, Volume V, Part I, pages 163 ff. and 414.

Tibeto-Chinese family.

118. This family contains far the largest number of languages in the province, although the speakers are less than a quarter of those speaking the Indo-Aryan languages. They are very widely distributed and offer fields of great interest to the philologist.



The inset map shows how the family dominates the speech of the hills (except the Khasi and Jaintia Hills), and tinges all the plains districts except Sylhet; and even in Sylhet there are 33,000 speakers, chiefly Manipuris and Tiparas.

Tai Group.

Of the two Sub-Families, the *Siamese-Chinese* is represented by only two living languages of the Tai Group, Khamti and Shan, spoken by about 5,000 Khamtis, Phakials, Turungs and Aitons in the Sadiya Frontier Tract, Lakhimpur and Sibsagar. Their number has increased somewhat owing to the census of a new area in Sadiya. The Ahom language, now extinct, belonged to this sub-family and group.

The *Tibeto-Burman* Sub-Family has increased its number of speakers by 81,000 and comprises languages spoken by over one-sixth of the population of the province chiefly in the Hills.

About 28,000 of the increase is due to census of new areas containing Abor, Mishmi, Singpho and Naga villages (see title page of Imperial Table II) and to immigration of Chins from Burma; the rest comes from natural growth of the people.

Sir George Grierson says:—

"It will be noticed that the Sub-Family that contains the greatest number of languages is the Tibeto-Burman. So far as the area covered by the Survey is concerned, the speakers of the language of this Sub-Family all live in mountainous countries. As a rule, each tribe is separated from its neighbours, and languages thus quickly split up into dialects, and each dialect easily develops into a distinct language. In this way, while the number of languages is great, the number of speaker of each, averaging about 17,000, is small."*

North Assam Branch.

Abor-Miri.

In the NORTH ASSAM BRANCH, Abor and Miri are now shown separately in Subsidiary Table I as they were returned separately and are so classed in the Survey. The former is found principally in the Sadiya tract, and an increase of 12,000 appears. The latter is spoken chiefly by plains Miris of the Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts. The Survey figures for both languages are now too low, owing to extension of areas and the passage of time. The other languages of this branch, Aka, Dafla and Mishmi, have few speakers within British Territory. Although their *habitat* is beyond the frontier, it is interesting to note that there is a people, the Khoas, living in the Aka country and speaking a language quite distinct from the Hrusso or Aka language. The people are exactly like the Akas in appearnce but live in separate villages, count as a class inferior to the Akas and work for them (though not as slaves). Both the Akas and Khoas understand each others' languages, so they are in fact bilingual. Unfortunately the Political Officer of Balipara has at present no further information about the Khoa language.

Tibeto-Himalayan languages.

The TIBETO-HIMALAYAN BRANCH of the Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family includes Bhotia of Bhutan and of Tibet (Tibetan)—the speakers of both together being about 1,500—and various Himalayan languages spoken by some of the immigrants from Nepal. The number of speakers in this branch has decreased by about 2,000, probably owing to many returning the Indo-Aryan language Naipali instead of their original mother-tongues. They are scattered over all districts of the province.

* GRIERSON:—The Linguistic Survey of India and the Census of 1911, P.5. It should be noted that the Survey did not extend to Burma.

Assam-Burmese Branch.

In the ASSAM-BURMESE BRANCH we have several groups and sub-groups comprising most of the plains tribal languages and the hill languages of the interior and the eastern frontier, such as Kachari, Garo, Lushei, Mikir, the various Naga, Kuki and Chin languages, and Manipuri. In the Bodo group an increase of 19,000 in Garo speakers contrasts with decreases in Kachari and Dimasa, Rabha, Tipura and Lalung—most of these probably being due to the bilingualism error or to neighbouring Assamese or Bengali Hindu influences causing an actual wish to suppress the tribal language as a supposed badge of barbarism. The decrease in speakers of Tipura probably arises largely from emigration of Sylhet Tiparas to Tripura State owing to prohibition of *jhuming* in Sylhet. It is difficult to compare this group with the Linguistic Survey figures, as most of its components are spoken also in Bengal. It seems, however, that the survey figures for Lalung are much too high (40,000 against the census 10,000); while those for Chutiya are too low.

Bodo group.

Naga group.

In the Naga group, an increase of 15,000 speakers is accounted for partly by the census of the trans-Dikhu Konyaks for the first time and partly by actual growth in a few tribes, notably Mikir (+ 6,000) and Angami (+ 4,000). Generally, however, on account of the severity of influenza in the Naga Hills and neighbouring tracts, the speakers of languages of this group have increased little or have actually decreased: for instance, Lhota speakers are 2,000 less and Tangkhul speakers are 3,000 less than in 1911. But according to the census the Survey figures for the Naga group are too low, the deficiency being chiefly in the numbers estimated for Angami, Ao and Mikir. There is a fall of nearly 5,000 in the number of Kachcha Naga speakers. This is probably due partly to inaccuracy in 1911 and partly to some having been returned now under Naga (unspecified) and Angami: although their languages are different the Kachcha Nagas have been much influenced by the Angamis and they are probably from the same stock.*

Kuki-Chin group.

The Kuki-Chin group includes the non-Naga languages of Manipur and various tongues of the Lushai Hills and the Burma border. Manipuri, the only member of the Meithei sub-group, continues its vitality. Numerically, it is the most important member of the whole Tibeto-Burman sub-family in Assam. The number of its speakers has increased by 10 per cent. to 324,000—a number which is over 4 per cent. of the population of the province; and the survey estimate of 240,000 is now much too low. In the northern Chin sub-group there is an increase in the Manipur language Thado, which now has over 31,000 speakers, corresponding very closely with Survey figures. The numbers recorded for Paite and Ralte, which are spoken in the Lushai Hills and Manipur, have decreased in both districts; there is nothing to show that these have been returned under any other name, and I can only account for the decrease by the economic and epidemic disease troubles which resulted in the very low rate of growth in the Lushai Hills and among the Hill tribes of Manipur. The decrease is hardly compensated for by an increase in speakers of Lushei or Dulien (+ 5,000), in the Central Chin sub-group and of Hmar (+ 4,000) in the old Kuki sub-group.

The low number (40,539) given in the Survey for Lushei speakers appears to be due to the fact that the Survey estimate was based on the census of 1891, when only the area known as North Lushai was counted.

The different tribes and languages are so numerous that it seems we must always have some 'unspecified' entries, until our enumerators are experts. At this census there are 19,000 persons returned as speaking Kuki unspecified, and 5,000 Chin unspecified. These last are the new Chin immigrants from Burma.

Kachin group.

Burma group.

Of the remaining groups of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family there is little to be said. Speakers of Singpho, in the Kachin group, have increased to over 5,000 in Lakhimpur and Sadiya, partly owing to census of new villages. Languages of the Burma group are spoken only by a few temporary immigrants and by descendants of a small remnant of the Burmese invaders of Assam—now 91 persons—who are settled in the Garo Hills and still speak Burmese.

Lui languages.

There remain three other Tibeto-Burman languages named after the Loi villages, Andro, Sengmai, and Chairel. These, owing to scantiness of information, are at present unclassed†. They have been placed in a group called Lui and from recent enquiries in Manipur the Political Agent believes that they are not quite extinct but are still spoken at home by some

* HUTTON:—*The Angami Nagas*, 16, 156.

† Linguistic Survey, Vol. III, Part III, p. 43. *See* also Hodson, *The Meitheis*, pp. 8-13.

people. All the Lois, however, speak Manipuri outside their houses, and there was not a single entry of Lui or any of its components at the Census. Mr. Mullan, who made the enquiries in the villages, suggested from the resemblance of certain words that the two northern languages, Sengmai and Andro, might be connected with the Eastern Naga sub-group, but the Political Agent considers that the data are insufficient for deductions.

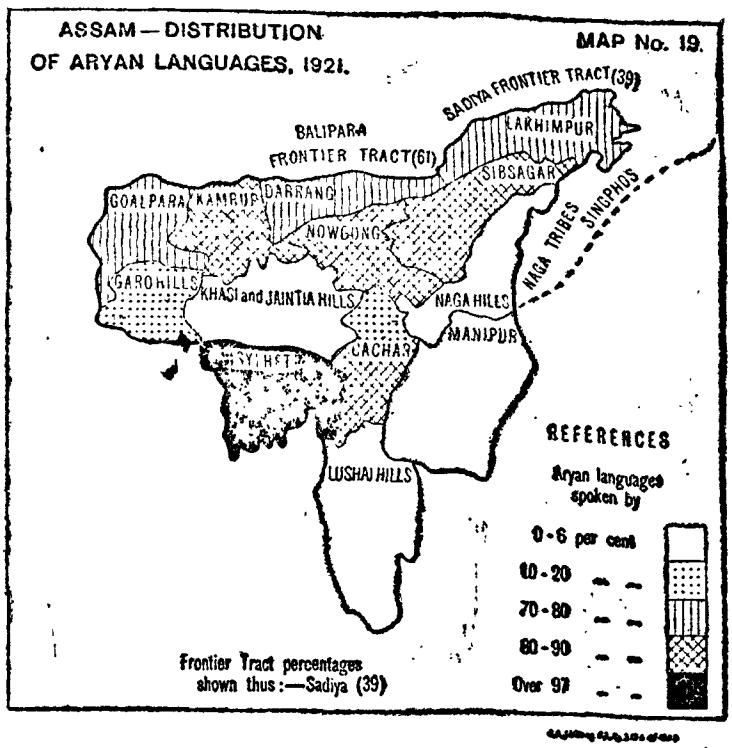
Dravidian Family.

119. The languages of this family—Telugu, Kurukh or Oraon, Kui or Kandhi and Tamil—are, like the Munda languages, the mother tongues of immigrants to tea gardens. The number censused under this head was 93,000, against 56,000 in 1911. The chief increases are in Telugu (+9,000), Kurukh (+20,000), and Gondi (+12,000). The number speaking Kurukh corresponds closely with the number of the tribe in Imperial Table XIII; but nearly 52,000 Gonds were censused against only 22,000 speakers of Gondi. The rest of the Gonds have probably been returned as speaking Hindi or Bengali.

Indo-European Family.

120. We are concerned only with the *Aryan* Sub-Family of this family. European languages and the Eranian Branch account for only 4,000 people: all the rest fall into the Indo-Aryan Branch of the sub-family.

Because of the inaccuracies mentioned in paragraph 114, resulting in a mixture in several districts of the returns for Assamese, Bengali and Hindi (and Oriya may also be affected to some extent), I give no maps such as were printed in the last report to show distribution of Assamese and Bengali. In order to eliminate the errors, the proportions are shown in map No. 19 for all Indo-Aryan languages grouped together. Taking first the OUTER SUB-BRANCH, *Eastern Group*, it should be noted that Sylhet, Cachar plains and Goalpara contain the great mass of the indigenous Bengali speakers and Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur most of the Assamese. All the districts of the Brahmaputra Valley have large numbers of immigrant Bengali speakers—the recorded proportions will be found in column 3 of Subsidiary Table II. The Garo Hills, owing to its plains mauzas and proximity to Goalpara and Bengal, has more than 11 per cent. of Bengali speakers but no other hill district has as many as 2 per cent. of either Assamese or Bengali. From the figures in the margin it will be apparent that Assamese and Bengali are holding their own in the province. The slight differences in percentage are well within the limits of error from the recurring inaccuracies already described. Both languages have gained in absolute numbers of speakers, the Assamese increase being 193,000 and the Bengali 301,000. If we exclude the large number of new Eastern Bengal immigrants, the increase of Assamese speakers, absolute as well as proportional, is greater than that for Bengali; this agrees with general conditions and census results for population which show retarded growth in the Surma Valley and acceleration in the Brahmaputra Valley.



Bengali and Assamese.

Percentage of Assam population speaking.	1921.	1911.	1901.
Assamese ...	21·6	21·7	22·0
Bengali	44·1	45·9	48·1

The number of Assamese speakers noted in the Survey has now become too low by about 280,000; and the number of Bengali speakers estimated by the Survey for Assam falls short of the census total by 970,000. In the Brahmaputra Valley the proportion speaking Assamese has naturally suffered by the increase of Bengali immigrants outside the tea gardens and of Oriya, Munda and Kherwari speakers brought up by the gardens; but in the provincial proportions Assamese loses little.

Oriya.

The third member tabulated under the Eastern group is Oriya; in this we find an increase of 100,000, the total of speakers being now 162,000: most belong to tea gardens or have been connected with tea in the past. They are found in varying proportions in all the tea districts.

Naipali.

In the INNER SUB-BRANCH, *Pahari Group*, we have only one representative, Naipali or Khas-Kura. Its speakers are found all over the province, in the hills as well as in the plains. Their number has more than doubled since the last census and is now 95,000. This probably includes some whose mother tongue is one of the Tibeto-Himalayan languages, but on the other hand, a certain number of Naipali speakers may have been entered under Hindi. Allowing for both errors, I think our census number is not far from correct.

Rajasthani.

Hindi.

In the *Central Group* are Hindi and Rajasthani. The speakers of Rajasthani are more by only 1,000 than in 1911, although immigrants from Rajputana have increased by 4,000 in the decade: the difference has probably gone into Hindi. As explained in paragraph 4, I have placed all Hindi speakers in this group as vernacular Hindustani is officially classed as a dialect of Western Hindi. An attempt to divide the Hindi figures by use of immigration statistics is full of difficulty, because in many cases the actual districts of origin of tea garden coolies are not known and also because the mongrel tongue spoken by them often falls into no proper language. Roughly it may be that two-thirds of the 468,000 Hindi speakers enumerated should be placed under Bihari, a quarter under Eastern Hindi and only one-twelfth under Western Hindi; but this is little more than a guess.

Unclassed languages.

121. In Sibsagar and Lakhimpur 567 persons were entered as speaking Dom. According to the Index this is a gypsy language; but most likely the language entry was a mistake and the persons were Doms by caste,—connected with tea gardens and speaking some language foreign to Assam, probably Bihari or Bengali.

Fourteen speakers of Kanjari, all males, censused in Manipur, were probably really vagrants from Northern India.

Languages on tea gardens.

122. General remarks about the languages spoken by tea garden coolies have been made in the preceding paragraphs. Detailed statistics will be found in Provincial Table VIII. Very few of the speakers of Tibeto-Chinese languages are found on the gardens. Over three-fourths speak Indo-Aryan languages, nearly one-sixth follow the Munda Branch and about one-fifteenth the Dravidian family. Speakers of all have increased but the Munda and Dravidian language proportions are higher than they were in 1911, when the Aryan languages (chiefly Hindi, Bengali and Oriya) swallowed more than four-fifths of the numbers. This result was to be expected in view of the change in origin and class of immigrants discussed in Chapter III, paragraph 56.

Although language cannot be taken as a test of race, and deductions as to absolute numbers of tribes cannot be made from it, the statement in the margin throws some light on the classes and numbers of tea garden immigrants settling on the land in Assam, and the languages spoken by them. Many of the Hindi speakers outside the gardens are doubtless men engaged in general labour, trade and transport, in addition to those who have taken up land. The statement indicates, however, the large numbers of *ex*-coolies from the aboriginal tribes of other provinces who are now remaining in the pro-

Speakers enumerated in (000's omitted).

Language.	Province.	Tea gardens only.
Hindi	468	252
Oriya	162	134
Telugu...	30	25
Kurukh or Oraon ...	40	18
Gondi	22	12
Munda languages ...	263	141

vince as settlers. In every language shown the number of speakers outside the gardens, as well as inside, is much greater than it was in 1911. It appears, therefore, that *ex*-coolie settlers are not showing any serious signs of forgetting their own languages and adopting local ones, although many probably become bilingual.

Displacement of non-Aryan languages.

123. Subsidiary Table III contains some materials for estimating the extent to which tribal languages are disappearing under contact with others, *i.e.*, practically, contact with the Aryan languages of the plains. In the last report (page 101) Mr. McSwiney remarked :—

'There is no doubt that Aryan languages alone are now spoken by people who are Mongolians or Dravidians by race. The disappearance of the early tribal dialects is explained as being due partly to the fact that Aryan languages belong to a superior civilisation and partly to the influence of Hinduism. That tribal dialects still survive is accounted for by the absence of outside intercourse, which follows from the inaccessibility of the tract inhabited by the tribe, or by the reduction of the language to writing, usually with the aid of Missionaries, or by the resistance of the tribe to the glamour of Hinduism. We have many examples of these different influences in Assam. The hill tribes were and are still to a great extent isolated ; hence they retain their own languages ..... In the plains the existence of large proportion of Animists amongst the Bodo clans and the various Munda and Dravidian tribes, which are attracted to the province by the tea industry, accounts for the fact that their mother-tongues have not di-appeared.....'

The conditions and facts are still much the same as in 1911, and the conclusion that the indigenous tribal languages of Assam are still in a vigorous condition holds good for the great majority.

(1) *The Hill and frontier languages.*—The figures for Khasi, Abor-Miri, Lushei, Garo, Mikir and the Naga languages agree very nearly with the tribal numbers, small differences being accounted for in most cases by omission of Christians or Hindus for whom separate figures are not always available.

The case of *Dimasa* or Hills Kachari is peculiar. The figures indicate that the language is disappearing fast in the North Cachar Hills, its chief home. The number returned under Dimasa is now less than 10,000 against 15,000 in 1911, although the total population of the subdivision has remained nearly the same. Unfortunately, language statistics were not taken out separately for the North Cachar Hills, but the difference has almost certainly gone into Bengali, since the only other languages spoken by over 1,000 people in the Cachar district are Assamese, plains Kachari, Khasi, Kuki, Manipuri, Mikir, Naga and languages of immigrants. Assamese has increased only a little in the district, plains Kachari has decreased by over 5,000 and none of the others are possible alternatives. Contact with the outer world is facilitated by the Assam-Bengal Railway, which runs through these hills. There has been an impulse towards Hinduism, and propaganda, both orally and in writing, to induce the hillmen to describe themselves and their language as Hairimbā, after the name of their queen-ancestress Hirimbā who is said to be identified with the Rakshasi Hirimbā who married Bhim. This in itself would not cause decrease, since we have tabulated the Hirimba language entries as Dimasa; but at the same time there has been a social movement, probably not untinged with political import, which has caused the hill Kacharis to return their race or caste as Kshattriya. As this title belongs also to the Manipuris we are not able to separate the numbers. This social movement, combined with the move to Hinduism, has probably caused many bilingual hillmen or interested enumerators to return the language as Bengali : I doubt if 5,000 of them have really lost their mother tongue in ten years, and there is nothing to show that their numbers have decreased by natural causes to this extent. The development of the process in this area in the next decade should be of much interest.

(2) *Manipuri.*—For Manipuri I have shown only the figures for Manipur State in Subsidiary Table III: the reason is that the caste name Kshattriya has been returned by certain other castes or tribes in British territory, while in Manipur we can be certain that the Kshattriyas are practically all Manipuri by race. The difference of 46,000 between the tribal and the language figures is easily accounted for by the addition of 23,000 Lois who all returned Manipuri as their mother tongue, and the great majority of the 17,000 Musalmans and 8,000 Brahmans enumerated in the State. Here we may note that the disappearance of the Lūi languages (see end of paragraph 118 above) furnishes an instance of the absorption of minor Tibeto-Burman languages by another dominant one of the same family.

Among the Manipuris settled in Cachar there is a slight increase of speakers of the language, but in Sylhet a decrease (2,200) of speakers goes with an increase of the Kshattriyas. This decrease is more likely to be due to the general stagnation of the Hindu population of Sylhet in the decade than to the merging of the language in Bengali; but many Manipuris settled in the Surma Valley, especially males, are bilingual and error may have arisen from this.

(3). *Plains languages.*—The languages most affected by contact with others in the plains are Chutiya, Lalung, Kachari and Rabha. *Chutiya* showed a slight increase at the last census, and Mr. McSwiney remarked that it was practically defunct but still retained a small spark of life. At this census it seemed to have disappeared altogether, but at my request special enquiries were made in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, when it was found that certain entries previously taken as Miri should in reality be *Chutiya* (Deori). The number in 1921 shows another increase, and is now 4,113. At the same time the number of the tribe enumerated was 96,009. It seems that the Deori or Levite section of the tribe does not intend to abandon the parent tongue, though they may become completely bilingual. The matter is of historical interest, for the Chutiya language appears to be one of the original languages of Upper Assam.*

The *Lalung* language shows a further decline from 12,000 to 10,000 speakers, while the number of the tribe has risen from 39,000 to 41,000. Absorption by Assamese appears to be going on still, but the rate is slower than that noted at the last census, although 8·2 per cent. of the tribe are now Hindus, against 1·8 per cent. in 1911.

For *Kachari*, following the procedure of the last report, I have added the Dimasa speakers to those returned under Kachari and Mech, since all the speakers are of the same tribe. In the result we find that there has been a drop of about 8,000 in speakers of these languages; the number of the tribe shows a decrease at the same time of 21,000. If the figures were reliable we should thus have nearly 90 per cent. of the tribe speaking the ancestral language, against 86 per cent. in 1911 and 75 in 1901. The tribal number shown, however, is a good deal lower than the actual, for many returned themselves under other castes, notably Kshattriya. The absolute decrease in speakers is reduced to only 1,700 if we exclude Dimasa. This is made up by an increase of nearly 20,000 in Goalpara and decreases in all other plains districts, especially in Kamrup, Darrang and Cachar. It seems therefore that among the Mech section of the tribe the language is robust and growing with the population, although some part of the Goalpara increase is due to immigration of Meches from Jalpaiguri. But Assamese and Bengali are displacing Kachari steadily in the other districts. The accuracy of the enumeration was probably a little greater than at the last census (except in North Cachar), and the falling off in the language seems to show a real desire of some of the people to return Assamese and Bengali rather than their mother tongue. Probably they have not lost their Kachari, but a great number are bilingual and the usual feeling of superior civilisation conferred by Aryan speech must have influenced them concurrently with the move towards Hinduism. At the present rate, however, it will take many decades before Kachari dies out as a spoken language.

Rabha shows a decline in number of speakers from 28,000 to 22,000; the number of the tribe enumerated as Rabhas has decreased at the same time by nearly 9,000, but this is largely due to exclusion of Totlas, of whom 7,400 were added to the Rabha tribe total in 1911. It is true that in 1911 Mr. Friend-Pereira reported that the Pati Rabhas had lost their mother tongue and spoke Assamese (Assam Census Report, 1911, page 142). Apparently the process is extending, but it is early yet to say that Rabha is a dying language. At the last census an increase of 8,000 Rabha speakers was recorded, but this was attributed only to greater accuracy. I do not think the present decrease can be put down to a real relapse into inaccuracy on the part of the enumerating staff: it seems to be due to the same cause as the Kachari decrease—growing tendency of bilingual people to plump for the language of higher civilisation. The returns show a set-back, but this does not mean that the languages are dying yet. At the census of the United Kingdom in 1911 it was found that though speakers of Irish only and Gaelic only numbered 0·4 per cent. of the populations of Ireland and Scotland, yet speakers of both Irish and English were 14 per cent., and of both Gaelic

* For an account of Chutiya, see Linguistic Survey, Volume III, Part II, p. 118. See also Gait, History of Assam, pp. 38 ff.

and English were 4·6 per cent. of the respective populations; while in Wales and Monmouth a diminution of monoglot Welsh and increase of monoglot English was accompanied by a practically unchanged percentage of diglot persons.

Literary activity.

124. In the decade a number of text-books, pamphlets and minor literary works has been published. No large work of any merit or of any significance has appeared in Assamese or Bengali or any other language of the province. Several local weekly newspapers continued to appear, but their interests have been mainly political and their circulation small: their influence on language and culture has therefore been almost negligible.

No signs of a *lingua franca* are visible. Assamese and the various forms of coolie *patois* in the Brahmaputra Valley, and Bengali in the Surma Valley have continued to fulfil all ordinary needs as local media of communication in the plains. English, or at least a mixture of English words with Bengali or Assamese sentences, enters a good deal into discussion among educated people. Among the hill tribes everywhere a knowledge of the local language is necessary for all purposes unless an interpreter is retained. It was necessary to print our census schedules and enumerators' instructions in five different hill languages—Manipuri, Tangkhul, Khasi, Garo and Lushai; in the other tracts plainsmen or bilingual hillmen had to be employed as enumerators and had to use Bengali or Assamese forms.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Distribution of total population by languag..

Language.	Total number of speakers (000's omitted).		Number per mille of population (1921) of province.	Where chiefly spoken.	Language.	Total number of speakers (000's omitted).		Number per mille of population (1921) of province.	Where chiefly spoken.
	1921.	1911.				1921.	1911.		
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
AUSTRIC FAMILY.	466	344	58		NAGA KUKI SUB-GROUP.	152	147	19	
AUSTRO ASIATIC SUB-FAMILY.	466	344	58		Mikir	109	103	14	Nowgong, Sibsagar and Khasi Hills.
MON-KHMER BRANCH	*204*	*201*	*26*		Sopvoma ...	13	10	2	Manipur.
Khasi	204	201	26	Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	Tangkhul (Luhupa)	24	27	3	Ditto.
MUNDA BRANCH	*263*	*143*	*33*		EASTERN NAGA SUB-GROUP.				
Kherwari (Mundari, Santali, Bhumij, Turi, Korwa).	246	136	31	All tea districts	Konyak ...	7	2	1	Naga Hills.
Kharia ...	12	5	1		Naga (unspecified and unclassed).	22	17	3	Naga Hills and Manipur
Kurku	4	2	...		*Kuki-Chin Group.*	*498*	*458*	*62*	
TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY.	1,428	1,346	179		MEITHEI SUB-GROUP.	324	295	41	
SIAMESE-CHINESE SUB-FAMILY.	5	4	1		Manipuri, Meithei, Kathe or Ponna.	324	295	41	Manipur.
Tai group.	*5*	*4*	*1*		OLD KUKI SUB-GROUP.	22	17	3	
Khamti ...	4	2	...	Sadiya and Sibsagar.	Hmar or Mhar ...	9	5	1	Manipur and Lushai Hills.
Shan	1	1	...		NORTHERN CHIN SUB-GROUP.	50	54	6	
TIBETO-BURMAN SUB-FAMILY.	1,423	1,342	178		Thado	31	27	4	Manipur.
NORTH ASSAM BRANCH.	*80*	*58*	*10*		Sokte	5	4	1	Ditto.
Abor	13	1	2	Sadiya.	Ralte	6	7	1	Manipur and Lushai Hills.
Miri	65	56	8	Lakhimpur and Sibsagar.	Paite	9	16	1	Ditto.
ASSAM-BURMESE BRANCH.	*1,332*	*1,272*	*167*		CENTRAL CHIN SUB-GROUP.	77	72	10	
Bodo group.	*490*	*488*	*61*		Lushei or Dulien ...	74	69	9	Lushai Hills.
Bara, Mech or Plains Kachari.	260	261	32	Brahmaputra Valley.	Lakher (Lai) ...	3	4	...	Ditto.
Chutiya ...	4	3	1	Lakhimpur.	UNCLASSED KUKI-CHIN.	24	20	3	
Dimasa ..	11	16	1	North Cachar	Kuki (unspecified)	19	20	2	Cachar and Manipur.
Garo	173	154	22	Garo Hills and Goalpara.	Chin (unspecified) or Poi.	5	...	1	Lushai Hills.
Koch	5	4	1	Garo Hills.	*Kachin group.*	*5*	*2*	*1*	
Lalung ...	10	12	1	Nowgong and Khasi Hills.	Kachin or Singpho	5	2	1	Lakhimpur and Sadiya.
Rabha ...	22	28	3	Goalpara and Garo Hills.	*TIBETO-HIMALAYAN BRANCH.*	*11*	*13*	*1*	
Tipura or Mrung ...	5	10	1	Sylhet.	*Non-pronominalized Himalayan Group.*	7	7	*1*	
Naga group.	*338*	*323*	*42*		Gurung ...	4	1	1	Everywhere.
NAGA-BODO SUB-GROUP.	20	26	3		Magari ...	2	3	...	
Empeo or Kachcha Naga.	3	8	...	Naga Hills.	*Pronominalized Himalayan Group.*	2	3	...	
Kabui	16	17	2	Manipur.	Khambu ...	1	1	...	Brahmaputra Valley.
WESTERN NAGA SUB-GROUP.	88	81	11		Limbu ...	2	2	...	
Angami ...	43	39	5	Naga Hills.					
Kezhama ...	5	5	1	Ditto.					
Rengma ...	5	4	1	Ditto.					
Sema	35	33	4	Ditto.					
CENTRAL NAGA SUB-GROUP.	49	49	6						
Ao	30	29	4	Naga Hills.					
Lhota or Tsontsu ...	18	20	2	Ditto.					

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I—*concld.*

Distribution of total population by language.

Language.	Total number of speakers (000's omitted).		Number per mille of population (1921) of province.	Where chiefly spoken.	Language.	Total number of speakers (000's omitted).		Number per mille of population (1921) of province.	Where chiefly spoken.
	1921.	1911.				1921.	1911.		
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
DRAVIDIAN FAMILY.	98	56	12		INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY.	5,997	5,314	751	
Andhra Group ...	*30*	*21*	*4*		ARYAN SUB-FAMILY.	5,997	5,314	751	
Telugu or Andhra...	30	21	4	All tea districts.					
Intermediate Group ...	*65*	*34*	*8*		*INDO-ARYAN BRANCH.*	*5,992*	*5,310*	*750*	
Kurukh or Oraon ...	40	20	5	Tea districts.					
Gondi	22	10	3	Ditto.	INNER SUB-BRANCH	577	491	72	
Kui or Kandhi ...	4	4	1	Ditto.					
Dravida Group ...	*3*	*1*	...		*Central Group* ...	*482*	*444*	*60*	
Tamil	3	1	...	Tea districts.	Hindi	468	431	59	Everywhere.
					Rajasthani ...	13	12	2	Assam Valley.
					Pahari Group ...	*95*	*47*	*12*	
					Naipali or Khas-kura	95	47	12	Everywhere.
					OUTER SUB-BRANCH	5,415	4,820	678	
					Eastern Group ...	*5,414*	*4,818*	*678*	
					Bengali ...	3,526	3,225	441	Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara.
					Assamese ...	1,726	1,532	216	Brahmaputra Valley.
					Oriya	162	61	20	Tea districts.
					Southern Group ...	*1*	*1*	...	
					Marathi ...	1	1	...	Tea districts.
					ERANIAN BRANCH	*1*	*1*	...	
					(Pashto, Balochi, etc.)	1	1	...	Lakhimpur (Coal mines).
					EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.	*3*	*3*	...	
					OTHERS ...	1	...	...	
					Total ...	7,990	7,060	1,000	

NOTE.—As most of the numerically unimportant languages have not been shown separately and only round thousands have been taken, the numbers in groups, etc., do not always agree with the totals of their components shown.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Distribution by language of the population of each district.

District and Natural Division.	Number per 10,000 of population speaking									
	Assamese.	Bengali.	Hindi.	Manipuri.	Bodo, Mech or Plains Kachari.	Kherwari (Santali, Mundari, etc.)	Khasi.	Garo.	Oriya.	Other languages.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM ...	2,160	4,413	585	406	325	307	255	216	203	1,130
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.	4,460	2,212	625	4	658	577	2	59	324	1,079
Goalpara ...	1,821	5,321	322	...	1,470	432	...	209	6	419
Kamrup ...	7,553	667	220	2	1,122	43	9	70	12	302
Darrang ...	3,671	1,813	730	2	963	888	1	11	655	1,256
Nowgong ...	5,293	1,812	564	2	208	213	1	13	167	1,727
Sibsagar ...	5,232	1,596	740	7	15	665	...	1	541	1,203
Lakhimpur ...	3,076	1,785	1,339	8	6	1,349	1	1	666	1,769
Sadiya ...	1,610	263	716	26	2	195	...	...	287	6,901
Balipara ...	1,605	162	210	34	45	783	55	382	736	5,988
SURMA VALLEY ...	9	8,623	717	258	10	75	9	4	120	175
Cachar (including North Cachar).	39	5,951	1,916	974	53	146	23	...	172	726
Sylhet ...	2	9,180	468	109	1	43	6	4	109	78
HILLS ...	33	255	61	2,286	28	1	1,877	1,399	2	4,058
Garo Hills ...	27	1,122	47	...	64	...	2	7,960	1	777
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	35	177	115	...	...	...	8,220	267	...	1,186
Naga Hills ...	119	42	80	26	113	5	4	...	9	9,602
Lushai Hills ...	7	144	15	2	...	5	3	...	4	9,820
Manipur ...	4	18	36	6,334	1	...	...	...	...	3,607

NOTE :—Separate figures for North Cachar Hills are not available.
"Others" in column 11 includes all languages spoken by less than 2 per cent. of the population of the Province.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Comparison of caste and language tables.

Tribe and language.	Strength of tribe (Table XIII).	Number speaking tribal language (Table X).	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
Austric family.			
Khasi and cognate tribes ...	164,808	203,855	Column 3 includes 37,852 Khasi Christians.
Munda	127,991	120,656	
Santal	84,138	103,034	
Tibeto-Chinese family.			
Abor-Miri	80,667	78,605	
Chutiya	96,009	4,113	
Garo	161,915	172,912	Column 3 includes 7,484 Garo Christians.
Kachari, Mech and Dimasa ...	303,584	270,639	Column 2 includes 15,728 Sonwals.
Khamti	2,953	3,957	
Lalung	41,033	10,383	
Lushai (Lushei, Hmar, Paite, Ralte)	61,090	84,999	Column 3 includes 24,125 Lushai Christians.
Manipuri	197,404	248,202	Manipur State only—see paragraph 123.
Mikir	111,629	109,120	
Naga Angami	46,093	43,050	
Naga Ao	22,085	30,142	Column 3 includes 7,926 Ao Christians.
Naga Lhota	18,400	18,412	
Naga Sema	33,464	34,883	
Naga Tangkhul	22,823	23,934	
Rabha	70,491	22,239	
Tipura	4,501	4,986	
Dravidian family.			
Gond	51,880	21,682	
Oraon	42,213	39,587	

CHAPTER X.

INFIRMITIES.

Scope and accuracy of statistics.

125. Owing partly to difficulties of diagnosis, and partly to intentional concealment, the statistics of infirmities are far less reliable than the other census figures, except perhaps those for age and, in some cases at this census, those for caste.

It has seriously been proposed to drop the enquiry altogether. But in India there are few ordinary means of obtaining statistics on these subjects over any wide area and as the errors are to some extent constant the statistics of distribution and variation are of some comparative interest. The Government of India decided therefore to retain the enquiry.

The infirmities tabulated in Imperial Tables XII and XII-A are the same as those of 1911, namely insanity, deaf-mutism, blindness and leprosy. A single column of the schedule was provided for these and the instruction (in the various vernaculars to the enumerators was—

"If any person be blind of both eyes, or insane, or suffering from corrosive leprosy, or deaf and dumb, enter the name of the infirmity in this column.

Do not enter those who are blind of one eye only, or only deaf or only dumb, or who are suffering from white leprosy only."

The only difference from the 1911 procedure is in the decision by the Government of India to omit, for various reasons, the words 'from birth' after 'deaf and dumb.'

In spite of this clear wording and of repetition in the instructions to the higher staff, many defects appeared in the entries. Single entries of 'deaf' were common, necessitating reference after the census to districts for further enquiry. Other entries such as blind of one eye, night-blind, 'totally,' occasionally mad, half-mad, white leprosy, also occurred.

It would doubtless be hard even for educated laymen in all cases to distinguish mere idiocy or weak-mindedness from proper insanity, or such diseases as leucoderma and syphilis from true leprosy, or dimsightedness from real blindness; the mistakes of the ordinary enumerator are therefore not to be wondered at. Besides the above unintentional errors there are cases of deliberate concealment. These occur in the case of leprosy, especially in persons of respected family and among women; also in some cases of insanity and deaf-mutism, especially among children, because parents are naturally unwilling to acknowledge the defect so long as they have hopes of cure. As I shall show below (paragraph 130), there are grounds for supposing that the change of wording in the case of deaf and dumb has induced condonation of omissions in respect of children in many cases.

On the whole, I think that increased education and insistent supervision of enumerators by the higher staff has resulted in somewhat less inaccuracy in the record than in that of previous censuses, except in the case of deaf-mutism.

Owing to very great differences in the returns for 1921 and 1911 in Manipur, Naga Hills and Lushai Hills, special references were made to the District Officers as to the causes. The Political Agent in Manipur attributed the difference to increased accuracy on the part of the enumerators, and the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills to improvement in the district census arrangements and in the education of the inhabitants, which allowed of the employment of Nagas in place of foreigners as enumerators. The Superintendent of the Lushai Hills could give no reasons.

The slip-copying and sorting was done, as in 1911, by a special staff under careful supervision, and many doubtful entries were referred back for further enquiry in the districts: this part of the work was therefore at least as accurately done as at last census.

One can only guess at the degree of accuracy attained in the end. In the last report (page 105) Mr. McSwiney thought that it would be expecting too much of our enumerators to insist that their returns are reliable in as much as 90 per cent. of the cases. I am inclined to put the limit lower, and to think that even with our increased precision in 1921 we should not count on 75 per cent. of the entries being

correct. For lepers the number shown is likely to be too small, for the blind too large. For the other two infirmities errors of inaccurate diagnosis and concealment may to some extent cancel out, though not wholly, as the recurring differences for the two sexes indicate.

The three Subsidiary Tables attached to this chapter give proportionate figures by sex, district and age for the different infirmities, and for different census years.

Year.	Insane.	Deaf-mute.	Blind.	Lepers.	Total.
1921...	4,099	5,557	7,728	4,464	21,588
	51	*70*	*97*	*56*	*270*
1911 ...	3,116	5,399	6,408	4,372	19,183
1901...	2,510	4,575	5,759	5,088	17,932
1891...	3,022	4,681	5,832	6,727	20,262

NOTE:—The figures in italics show the proportion per 100,000 of the total population.

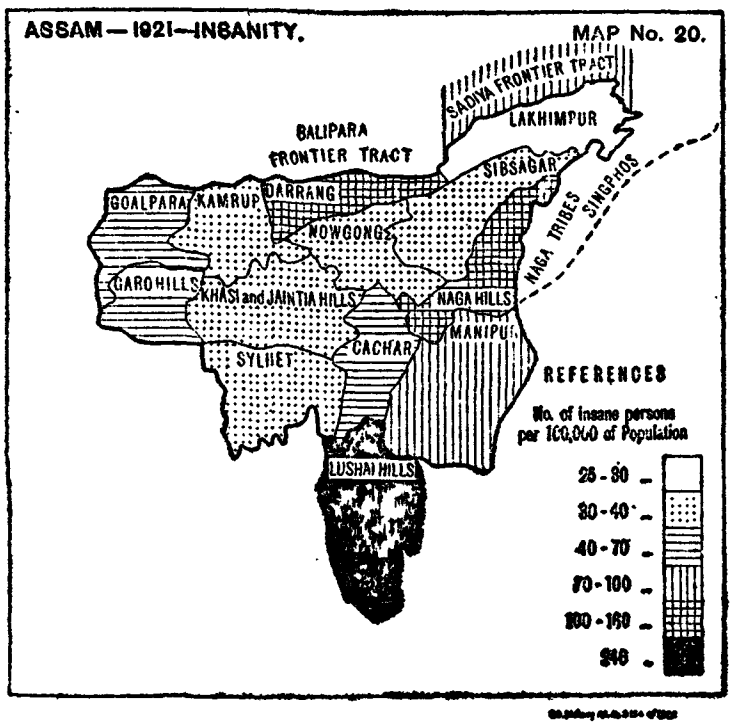
The absolute numbers are small compared with the total population. In no single district except Sylhet does the number afflicted with any one infirmity reach one thousand, and in six of our districts the sum of the four classes is less than 1,000. Hence variations in the proportionate figures must be examined with caution.

The totals for 1921 and 1911 in the inset statement differ from the sum of the constituents on account of the inclusion of persons suffering from more than one infirmity. There were 260 of these in 1921 and 112 at the last census; the details will be found on the title-page of Imperial Table XII.

The total afflicted has grown by 2,405. Taking all together, the proportion of the infirm to the total population shows a slight fall compared with 1911. This is what we should expect, in as much as a great part of our increase of population consists of immigrants, among whom there are not likely to be many permanently infirm of body or mind. The proportions are considerably higher for each infirmity than those recorded in Bengal.

Insanity—variation.

126. The number of the insane has increased as it did also at the last census. The proportion in the total population has also increased, but it is still less, for both males and females than that recorded in 1891 (see Subsidiary Table I). In the natural divisions, the increase is considerable in the Brahmaputra Valley, and very high proportionally in the hills. In the Surma Valley there is a decrease in the actual as well as the proportional figures, except among the females of Sylhet: the result is that the female and male proportions in the Surma Valley are brought nearer together—probably a sign of greater accuracy. There is an excess of lunatics in the Brahmaputra Valley over that of the Surma Valley. But this is only apparent: if we allot the Tezpur asylum inmates to their birth places we find that the proportions of insane in the two valleys approach very near each other. The Darrang district figures are also much obscured by the 416 persons (330 males and 86 females) counted in the asylum. Excluding those born outside the district, Darrang falls into the class of 30-40 per 100,000.



The proportion of insane to total population in the Hills is now nearly double that for either valley. A part of the increase may doubtless be attributed to greater accuracy, especially in Manipur and the Naga Hills, but it must be noted that the Hills have shown excess over the plains at the last censuses. As was remarked in the India Census Report of 1911, the areas of maximum intensity are either in the hills or along the foot of the hills.

Map No. 20 shows that the Lushai Hills is still the leading district in regard to its proportion of insane. It is not easy to assign any reason for this. Deaf-mutism is also high in the district, and this is possibly associated with goitre and a cretinoid state accompanying it: an average of about 2,000 cases of goitre is treated annually in the hospitals of the Lushai Hills. Probably many cretins and congenitally weak-minded persons have been entered as insane. But the total number shows a satisfactory decrease from 311 to 212 in spite of increased population in the district.

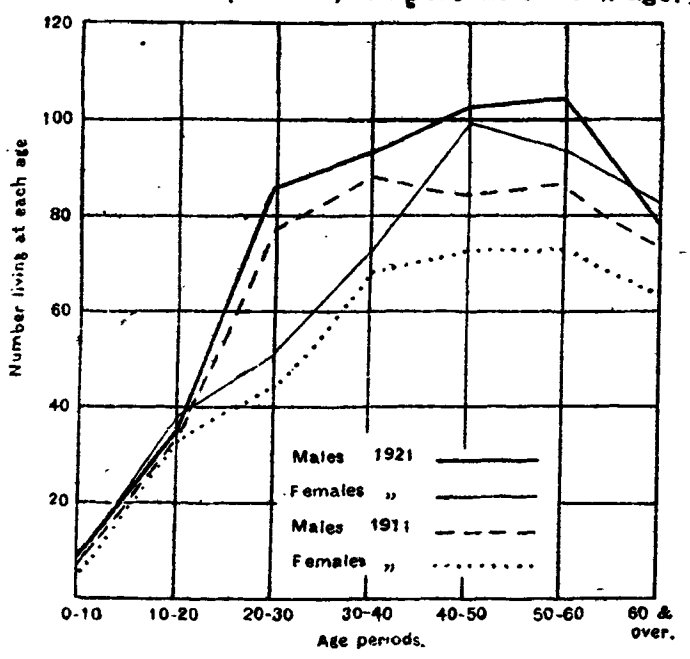
The Naga Hills proportion has increased about five-fold, but comparison with 1911 is illusory on account of there having been more foreign enumerators, with less local knowledge, in that year. Imperial Table XII-A shows the Semas and the Aos and the Kabuis to be the worst sufferers; there is no obvious explanation of this. I fear that the better local knowledge of the hill enumerators is a two-edged sword: it may result in the inclusion of more weak-minded persons as well as more of the real insane.

Insanity—sex, age and caste.

127. The sex figures for lunacy show considerable changes from those noted in 1911. In that year the male insane exceeded the females in all plains districts except Cachar Plains. We now have a slightly higher proportion among women in Cachar, Nowgong and Sadiya; the absolute figures are lower than those of men in all cases, however, and explanation of the slight divergences is not called for. In the Hills in 1911, all districts except the Naga Hills showed more female insane than male. This year the males exceed the females of unsound mind in the Garo Hills, Naga Hills and Manipur. All these differences appear to be due to changes in the method of enumeration or accuracy—perhaps not increased accuracy in all cases, but local variations in the enumerators, standards of accuracy are responsible.

DIAGRAM No. 7— ASSAM.

Insane-No. per 100,000 persons of each age.



As shown in diagram No. 7 the general increase since the year 1911 in the insanity figures is distributed over all ages in both sexes.

The increased proportion at ages under 10 is very small compared with those of higher ages—else we might have concluded that a larger number of the congenitally weak-minded had been included among the true insane.

The proportions of insane among males increase with the ages up to 60 and among females up to 50 only. The caste and tribal statistics throw little new light on the question of distribution of the insane. The figures for the hill tribes confirm the locality figures already discussed. The Brahmans and Kayasthas have higher proportions than most of the other indigenous castes and tribes of the plains.

Among tea garden immigrants there are few insane; for instance, Mundas have 20, Tantis 14, Santals 31 and Chamars only 13 mad persons in every 100,000.

Causes of insanity.

128. The causes of insanity and its local incidence are obscure and it is easier to give reasons which do not account for it than ones which do so. For instance, consanguineous marriages as a cause must be ruled out, for we have hill tribes with strict rules of exogamy exceeding in

proportion of insane other areas where cousin marriage is prevalent (*e.g.*, Sylhet with a preponderance of Muhammadans allowing the practice). Nor can any correlation be found between the amount of consumption of *ganja* by districts and prevalence of insanity, although in individual cases the malady can be traced to *ganja*. Locality, with its attendant physical conditions, may be a cause: yet it is impossible to say at present why our three most easterly hill districts should show far higher proportions of insane than the others on the west and in the centre of the province. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills proportion is the lowest of all districts in the province for males: yet few of our people live at greater altitudes than do the Khasis.

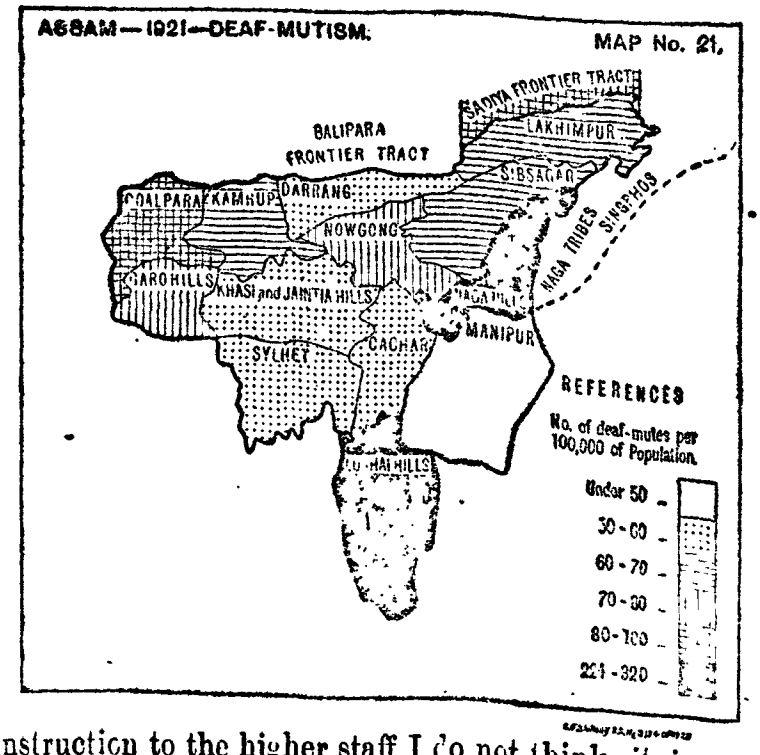
Into the one Mental Hospital of the province, at Tezpur there have been 995 admissions and readmissions in the ten years 1912—1921. From the medical returns it appears that the history or conditions and predisposing causes were unknown in 37 per cent. of the cases *Ganja* accounts for about 20 per cent., but it is probable that only a small proportion of ordinary *ganja* lunatics would be likely to be sent to the asylum unless they become criminal. In 1921 the average daily number of lunatics in the asylum was 427, of whom 188 were criminals. The number of cases of mental stress, which falls under two heads, sudden and prolonged, is large: this seems to be the next factor in importance after *ganja* as a predisposing or exciting cause. A few private cases are admitted to the asylum, but most cases are detained by legal process. Criminal lunatics are sent under orders of the Local Government and non criminals on a warrant from a Magistrate—generally after production by relatives or others who are unable to take proper care of them. In both cases examination and certification by a qualified Medical Officer is a necessary preliminary.

Admissions to Tezpur Mental Hospital, 1912-1921.

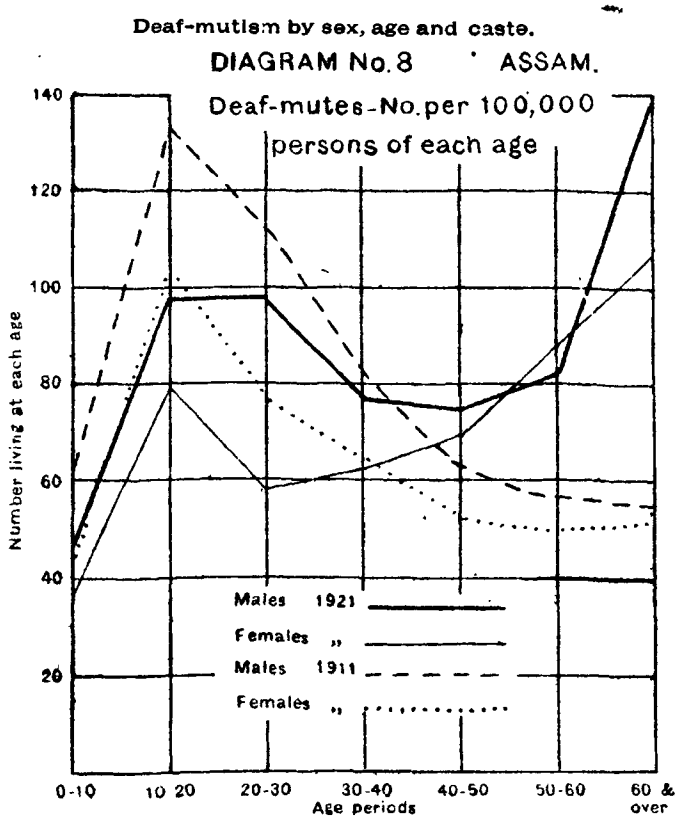
Ætiological factor or associated condition.	Actual number of cases.	Percentage of total admissions
Hereditary insanity or mental instability	138	14
Ganja or bhang	198	20
Mental stress	149	15
Epilepsy	62	6
Other causes	76	8
Cause or history unknown ...	372	37
Total	995	100

129. According to our returns the number and proportion of deaf-mutes has decreased everywhere in the plains and has increased in all hill districts except the Naga Hills. As map No. 21 shows, the worst districts are on the west, south-east and north-east boundaries, while the north, centre and south of the province are least affected. The Naga Hills was the worst district for this infirmity at last census and it is so again this time; but there is a satisfactory fall from the high figures of 1911. The Lushai Hills district shows an enormous rise in proportions and now approaches the Naga Hills in the apparent severity of deaf-mutism. It is difficult to find a reason for the large Lushai Hills increase. Probably the 1911 figures were too low: the present ones approach nearer to those of 1901. Those who were dumb were assumed to be deaf also, but this procedure was also adopted in 1911, as the District Officer reports. In Manipur, owing to a mistake in translation, the head of column 16 in schedule read only 'deaf' instead of 'deaf and dumb' in the Manipuri language, but as this did not happen in the instruction to the higher staff I do not think it is responsible for all the difference shown by this year's statistics. As I have noted in paragraph 125, however, the absolute figures are low, and a small difference in numbers due to the personal equation of the enumerators therefore makes a correspondingly great change in the proportions for a district.

Deaf-mutism.



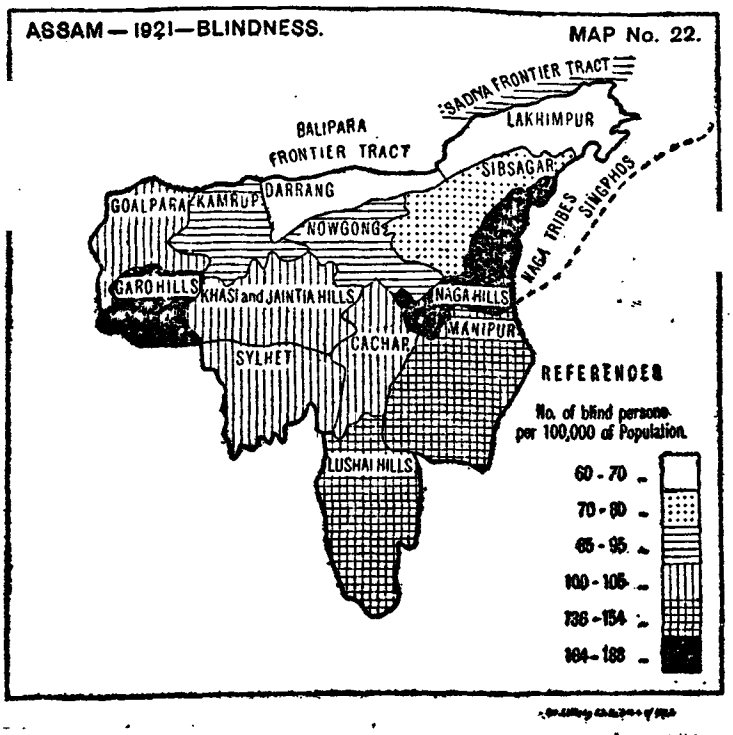
130. The sex figures for deaf-mutes in the plains generally approach each other more closely than at the two previous censuses, and we may therefore suppose that there is less error arising from intentional concealment. Nevertheless it appears that our statistics this year are less accurate in the case of deaf-mutism than they were in 1911. Scrutiny of diagram No. 8 will show this. True deaf-mutism is a congenital defect, and persons suffering from it are relatively short-lived. The proportion of such persons to the total living at each age period should therefore show a progressive decline. The diagram shows that this was the case in 1911 for both males and females except at ages below 20, where the factor of intentional concealment may be expected to act most strongly. In 1921 we have lower proportions for both sexes at all ages below 40, and there is a steady rise of the curve for males above 50 and for females above 30. This points to the erroneous inclusion of persons who have lost their hearing late in life, and the fall in the numbers under 20 years of age indicates more exclusion of children suffering from real congenital defect. We have no reason to suppose that any more cures are being effected than was the case in former years, and another explanation must be sought. As the enumerators are certainly educated as well as (or no worse than) in 1911, and the change in proportions extends over most of the province, it seems probable that the change in instructions, that is, the dropping out of the words 'from birth,' is the chief cause. Although no such report was made at the preliminary enumeration or during my tours before the census, it is most likely that enumerators in many places have taken the omission as a positive instruction to include only those who become deaf and dumb at the later ages; or at any rate sympathetic enumerators have not been so strict with parents hoping for a cure of their children as they would have been, had the ' from birth ' qualification been retained. In any case the curves show that our statistics are unreliable as regards congenital deaf-mutism.



The caste table shows that the Angami and Sema Nagas are the worst affected tribes in the hills, the Semas having nearly 5 deaf-mutes per mille ; at the other extreme are the Tangkhuls, who have only 5 deaf-mutes recorded in 23,000. The difference is of course partly artificial, due to different types of enumerator, but the contrast between the tribes is striking. The Lhotas show a great drop to about one-third of the number of deaf-mutes recorded in 1911, although the tribal strength has not varied much. The tribes of the Lushai Hills are badly affected in proportion to their size. Probably prevalence of goitre with cretinism is associated in these hills with deaf-mutism.

Blindness.

131. The proportion of blind in the province has increased for males by 3 and for females by 9 per 100,000 ; we have to go back to 1891 to find figures exceeding those now recorded. The increase is among females in the Surma Valley and in both sexes in the hills. The Brahmaputra Valley is still the division most free from blindness, and as a whole it has hardly varied from 1911. Different districts of the Valley vary considerably, some having increases and some decreases. Immigrants are distributed among all the districts, and cannot be taken as accounting for all the variations ; probably here also the personal equation of the enumerators has entered.

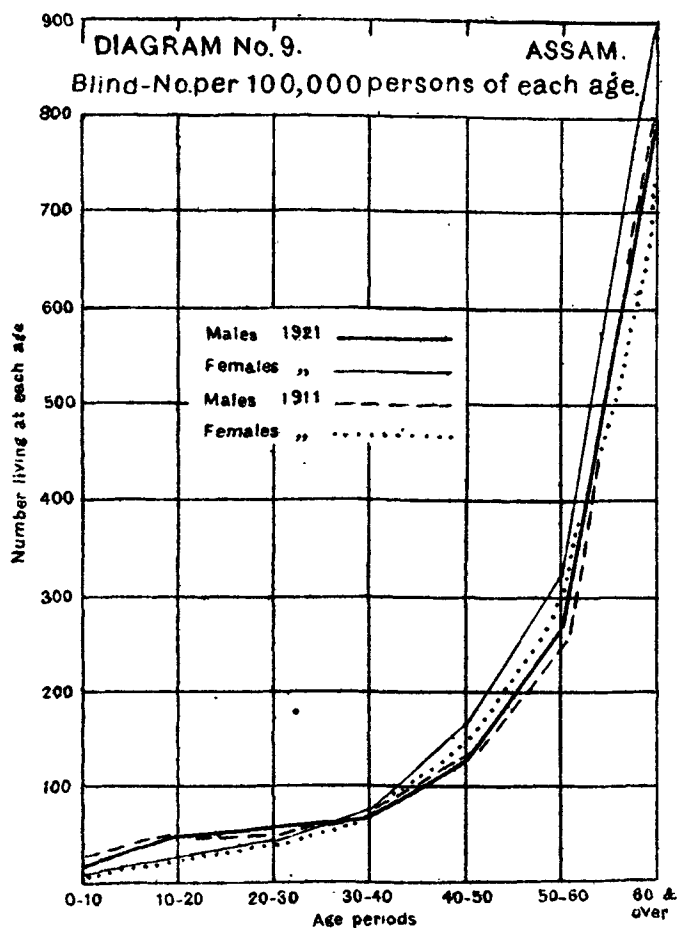


The large increase in the hills is certainly due to greater care taken by the census staff—although of course this may also induce some excess of entries in the case of old people with dim sight who are not really blind.

As explained in the last report, the high proportion of the blind in the hill districts, and especially in the Naga and Garo Hills, seems to be due to the absence of general cleanliness and ventilation.

Blindness—sex, age and caste.

132. The statistics of the two sexes approach much more nearly for blindness than in the case of other infirmities ; and there is hardly any concealment, since there is nothing derogatory to the family or to the individual in the admission. Blindness is an infirmity of the old, as shown by the accompanying diagram which compares the proportions in the age groups for the last two censuses. The higher position of the female curve at 30—40 and always after 40 will be noted. This confirms Mr. McSwiney's note of 1911 that women up to 40 seem to keep their sight better than do men, but after 40 they are more afflicted : this is probably due to dimness of sight brought on by the long time spent within the house and in presence of smoke from the cooking fire.



Among the literary or higher castes the proportion of the blind goes below the provincial average. The Baidyas, indeed, have only two blind persons in a total of over 7,000; and the Brahman and Kayastha proportions of the afflicted to their totals are only about two-thirds of the general proportion for the province. Some indigenous castes and plains tribes of ordinary cultivators fall below the local proportions and others rise above. For instance, in the Brahmaputra Valley, Ahoms, Kacharis and Kalitas all suffer less, and Kewats, Rajbansis and Koches more than the average. In the Surma Valley the Sudras and Namasudras are more afflicted than the Malos, Patnis, Napits, or Yogis (Naths).

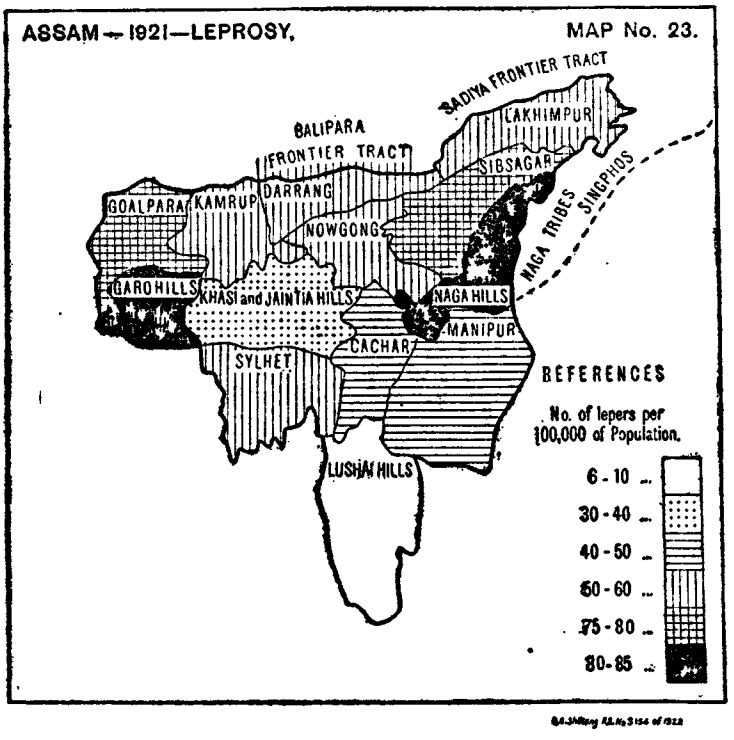
Among the hill tribes the figures for race follow those for locality, but there are some great contrasts. Thus in the Naga Hills the Aos are more than three times as badly affected as the Angamis. Kukis suffer twice as heavily as Lushais. Mikirs are no worse off than the general Brahmaputra Valley population. There seems no particular explanation of these varying proportions for blindness in the different races and castes: the occupations of nearly all are out of doors and there is little dust or glare anywhere in Assam. Possibly some resort more to medical treatment than others; but there are no statistics of this.

The number of operations for cataract in the ten years 1912-1921 in the hospitals and dispensaries of the province was 3,214, a number a little over half the total number of blind persons recorded in 1911. Figures for operations of previous decades would be interesting for comparison, but they are merged in the returns for old Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam and are not available separately for Assam. There is no record of the success or failure of the operations. I am informed by the Inspector General of Civil Hospitals that 50 per cent. or more are likely to be successful when performed with proper care by Surgeons, but failures may amount to 80 per cent. where the operator is of indifferent skill.

Leprosy.

133. That the statistics of leprosy suffer more than those of the other three census infirmities from concealment of the disease is shown by the wide gap between the proportions for the sexes: the number and proportion for males are about three times those for females. The errors of excess due to wrong diagnosis will certainly not be enough to balance those due to concealment. In 1891 the Indian Leprosy Commission found that about 10 per cent. of cases brought before it were of diseases other than leprosy. The Census Commissioner for India in 1911 remarked that it would be rash to assert that the real number of lepers in India did not exceed by 40 or 50 per cent. the tabulated census figure; and eminent medical and research authorities have estimated between 500,000 and a million as the real number of lepers in India—against the 109,000 recorded at the last census. Having regard to both kinds of error, I should say that the Assam statistics may be quite as much as 100 per cent. too low; figures for females of course being more unreliable than those for males. There is no reason to suppose, however, that this census is any worse than the last in this respect—in fact it is probably better in the Hills. Comparison with previous censuses can therefore be made without danger. In the province as a whole, as Subsidiary Table I shows, there has been a continuous decrease at all the censuses in the proportion of lepers to the total population. In fact, in British territory there has been an actual as well as a proportional fall in the number. The two valleys share the present decrease, but the Hills division has a considerable increase, the numbers being now about double those of 1911. At the last census the fall in the Hills proportions was attributed to greater accuracy in diagnosis, whereby cases of leucoderma and Naga sores were excluded. In 1921 we have had more local men as enumerators and it is possible that their greater keenness and local knowledge has led them to increase the entries by putting down other diseases as leprosy: the figures for the Naga Hills certainly look as if this has been done. The 1921 Manipur figures, however, appear more like an approach

to the truth than do the 1911 ones. As map No. 23 shows, the Garo and Naga Hills are now the worst areas and the Lushai Hills and Sadiya are the best for leprosy. In 1911 Goalpara and Sibsagar were the most affected districts. The incidence varies widely in different parts of the province; altitude, climate and race seem to bear no relation to the prevalence of leprosy—at least no correlation can be traced between those factors and the census statistics.



There are two leper asylums in the province, at Sylhet and Kohima. The Sylhet asylum on the census date had 59 inmates (50 males and 9 females), of whom 25 were born outside Assam. In Kohima asylum there were 35 lepers (27 males and 8 females), all natives of the Naga Hills. Lepers are admitted under the Act by Magistrates of districts on warrants. They can also be sent to asylums by the police and by Inspectors of lepers. But the legal process is seldom applied and in most cases applications are received from private persons, *e.g.*, Managers of tea gardens or from patients themselves. Civil Surgeons of districts also sometimes send cases for admission.

As until recently treatment has been rather palliative than curative, and institutions are so few, we cannot put down the decrease in the number of lepers to cure of cases. The reduction in the proportions seems to be genuine, especially as rises have occurred at the same time in the proportions recorded under two others of the infirmities, insanity and blindness. Immigration of a large number of people not generally suffering from disease may also have tended to lower the proportion of lepers. Legal action for segregation of lepers is rarely taken in Assam even in the case of beggars, but it seems probable that the general decrease of the proportions in the plains is due to improved sanitary conditions and care of the people themselves in avoiding contagion. It may be hoped that with the new treatments recently introduced, and extension of action both by the Mission to Lepers and by Government, the elimination of leprosy will proceed more rapidly.

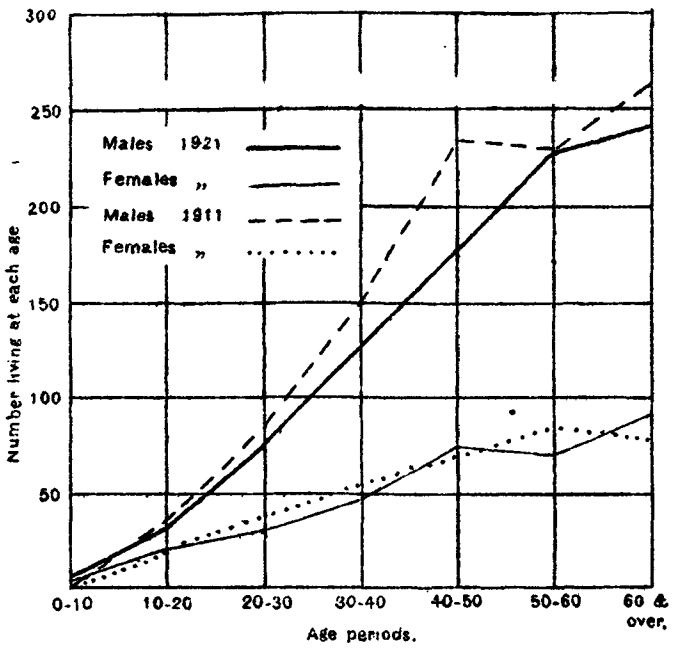
The figures of the last census (the 1921 figures for all India have not yet been communicated) show that Assam occupied the highest position among the provinces as regards proportion of lepers, and the lowest position as to percentage of its lepers segregated in asylums. Although our proportion of lepers has decreased somewhat at the present census, the absolute number in the province has increased, and unless some more striking measures are adopted to cope with it the unenviably distinguished position of Assam is likely to continue. That it is possible to cope with it has been shown by the medical work of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Leonard Rogers, I.M.S. and the Settlement work of the Mission to Lepers.

Leprosy—sex, age and caste.

134. The sex-curves shown in diagram No. 10 diverge from the beginning of life, but they are a little nearer together at the lower ages. Up to 30 the male leper proportions recorded are about double, and after that age treble, the females. The fall in proportion of male lepers from the 1911 figures occurs at all ages after 10, but chiefly at 40-50. The decrease among females is between 20 and 40 years of age, and also at 50-60. There is a slight rise in the proportions for children of both sexes, but the actual numbers are small and the result is very likely due to bad diagnosis. As the liability to the disease would seem to be greatest between the ages of 20 and 50 it is satisfactory to note that the chief part of the fall shown in the 1921 curves as compared with the 1911 ones is for that period.

DIAGRAM No. 10. ASSAM.

Lepers-No. per 100,000 persons of each age



Examination of the caste statistics shows that some of the aboriginal tribes in the Brahmaputra Valley are the worst sufferers. The Meches have as many as 18 lepers in every 10,000 and Miris, Mikirs and Rajbansis are not much better. These four castes or tribes were also the worst in 1911. Ahoms, Kacharis and Chutiyas, with 7 to 8 per mille, are little above the general Valley proportion. Brahmans, Kayasthas, Kalitas and Koches all have proportions less than the general. In 1911 it was suggested that the returns for Meches and Rajbansis were doubtful, but the repetition of high figures for these castes at this census seems to show that the conditions under which they live and their general low standard of cleanliness may have some connection with their continued affliction.

In the Surma Valley there is nothing to explain why the Sudras and Patnis should have nearly 9 and Namasudras only 5 lepers in every ten thousand of the respective castes. The Namasudra proportion of lepers is not much greater than that for Kayasthas, and the Chamars' proportion is much less, although in this case immigration affects the figures. Thus from our statistics we cannot generalise as to the incidence of leprosy on castes of high or low status in the plains.

The case of Brahmans appears to be exceptional; they have only slightly over 2·5 lepers in every 10,000, *i.e.*, a less proportion than that of any other caste of considerable numbers. In their case ceremonial cleanliness and exclusiveness must diminish greatly the risk of the disease.

The leprosy figures for hill tribes as usual reflect those for the localities where they are chiefly found: the Khasi proportions are low, the Garos' and Nagas' high, and the Lushais have but one leper in 61,000 persons.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Number afflicted per 100,000 *of the population at each of the last five Censuses.*

District and Natural Division.	Insane.										Deaf-mute.									
	Male.					Female.					Male.					Female.				
	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
ASSAM	*57*	*51*	*47*	*62*	*37*	*45*	*37*	*35*	*48*	*25*	*78*	*87*	*87*	*95*	*65*	*60*	*66*	*62*	*75*	*39*
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	*59*	*54*	*46*	*60*	*37*	*38*	*32*	*33*	*44*	*21*	*75*	*88*	*83*	*106*	*66*	*60*	*70*	*64*	*91*	*46*
Goalpara	69	79	82	109	88	59	66	62	86	53	91	93	113	116	85	73	79	97	97	60
Kamrup ...	46	49	39	59	23	27	26	22	43	14	78	88	50	81	54	60	62	32	65	45
Darrang*... ...	152	114	74	81	24	60	33	37	49	15	60	83	100	149	55	54	77	82	139	43
Nowgong ...	31	30	4	28	14	32	25	13	27	13	76	91	130	102	74	66	71	77	87	50
Sibsagar	41	36	39	43	33	30	22	29	24	9	70	83	56	93	77	59	57	45	73	37
Lakhimpur ...	30	19	14	26	25	20	19	8	28	17	66	90	94	125	45	58	82	76	127	32
Sadiya	68	...	...	...	...	74	...	...	...	...	36	...	...	...	...	97	...	...	...	...
Balipara	39	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
SURMA VALLEY ...	*41*	*48*	*45*	*63*	*41*	*37*	*34*	*30*	*52*	*32*	*68*	*78*	*83*	*77*	*70*	*46*	*50*	*50*	*53*	*35*
Cachar Plains* ...	42	48	47	54	66	44	50	44	69	43	57	75	88	54	91	45	63	49	43	63
Sylhet††	41	48	45	65	37	35	31	28	49	30	71	78	82	81	67	46	47	51	55	31
HILLS	*100*	*49*	*57*	*61*	*12*	*91*	*62*	*51*	*51*	*12*	*190*	*110*	*111*	*136*	*36*	*101*	*98*	*92*	*108*	*31*
Garo Hills ...	56	37	40	62	...	47	40	41	66	...	79	66	83	119	...	63	66	60	126	...
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	28	30	34	60	30	40	33	38	44	27	65	58	63	115	87	40	41	16	88	70
North Cachar ...	...†	21	48	236	...	...†	69	45	208	...	...†	49	62	118	...	...†	23	67	83	...
Naga Hills ...	184	35	45	56	...	132	35	39	40	...	343	527	486	238	...	297	502	451	166	...
Lushai Hills ...	216	297	292	...	...	272	380	249	...	...	186	19	156	...	...	257	12	180	...	...
Manipur	102	13	21	...	...	80	15	12	...	...	63	12	18	...	...	35	8	12	...	...

District and Natural Division.	Blind.										Lepers.									
	Male.					Female.					Male.					Female.				
	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41
ASSAM	*97*	*94*	*97*	*107*	*74*	*96*	*87*	*91*	*105*	*57*	*80*	*90*	*125*	*182*	*96*	*25*	*32*	*39*	*60*	*38*
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	*80*	*81*	*85*	*76*	*73*	*78*	*78*	*76*	*74*	*49*	*87*	*98*	*129*	*175*	*94*	*33*	*41*	*42*	*65*	*41*
Goalpara ...	101	100	126	134	95	105	94	140	147	84	116	137	210	287	169	37	39	63	90	59
Kamrup	94	106	125	72	88	76	82	80	61	55	71	78	137	97	72	31	31	28	36	36
Darrang ...	62	54	55	46	77	58	60	45	46	50	77	63	77	123	40	36	32	29	65	25
Nowgong ...	80	94	71	67	52	1	109	75	63	33	78	104	77	134	51	35	43	27	51	27
Sibsagar	69	67	47	54	47	72	64	51	55	19	104	114	128	225	116	45	52	51	82	53
Lakhimpur ...	63	59	71	66	53	59	68	55	61	29	66	75	102	196	91	36	48	49	85	37
Sadiya	100	...	...	...	...	36	...	...	..	...	14	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...
Balipara	39	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	77	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
SURMA VALLEY ...	*104*	*105*	*103*	*130*	*78*	*100*	*93*	*93*	*117*	*67*	*76*	*101*	*146*	*206*	*110*	*20*	*28*	*40*	*55*	*37*
Cachar Plains† ...	94	89	85	91	81	114	100	88	86	82	54	94	114	157	113	30	39	47	70	50
Sylhet	107	108	107	137	77	97	91	93	122	65	80	103	151	215	110	18	26	38	53	35
HILLS	*142*	*102*	*116*	*152*	*52*	*151*	*100*	*131*	*196*	*46*	*64*	*31*	*48*	*91*	*31*	*34*	*18*	*24*	*60*	*27*
Garo Hills ...	183	151	143	314	...	193	191	254	459	...	106	90	93	127	2	60	64	54	98	...
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	87	89	143	110	122	120	62	105	113	99	45	33	56	69	70	25	20	33	37	60
North Cachar ...	...†	35	48	215	40	...†	77	186	187	33	...†	35	73	183	32	...†	15	59	83	8
Naga Hills ...	160	209	172	103	...	209	236	252	145	...	102	31	35	124	...	59	19	18	89	...
Lushai Hills ...	146	128	192	...	...	160	98	1 66	...	...	9	7	13	...	...	4	...	2	...	...
Manipur ...	148	39	56	...	...	125	29	35	...	...	54	6	31	...	...	27	1	10	...	...

*NOTE: If the population of the mental asylum in Darrang born outside the district be excluded, the figures in columns 2 and 6 are reduced to 36 and 31 and those in columns 8 and 7 to 25 and 11 respectively.

††Exclusion of lepers born outside the district but enumerated in the Sylhet leper asylum reduces the figures in columns 26 and 30 to 77 and 18 and those in columns 27 and 31 to 102 and 26.

†Figures for North Cachar for 1921 are not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Distribution of the infirm by age per 10,000 *of each sex.*

AGE.	INSANE.									
	MALE.					FEMALE.				
	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
TOTAL	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*
0—5	88	82	115	138	141	105	71	204	164	217
5—10	488	375	399	530	283	432	447	621	496	451
10—15	576	484	825	691	577	806	650	795	700	567
15—20	631	685	906	645	751	806	925	1,077	879	1,002
20—25	955	1,016	1,068	835	2,067	999	995	1,232	918	1,769
25—30	1,476	1,516	1,298	1,289		1,104	1,246	892	1,136	
30—35	1,379	1,543	1,535	1,583	1,937	1,255	1,489	1,436	1,284	1,603
35—40	1,061	1,196	1,021	1,048		941	980	795	895	
40—45	1,106	1,005	1,055	1,193	1,523	1,008	964	1,038	1,012	1,603
45—50	656	609	487	627		686	588	417	498	
50—55	694	679	541	576	1,306	761	658	543	880	1,352
55—60	311	223	277	201		232	266	213	213	
60 and over	559	587	473	645	1,415	721	721	737	918	1,436

AGE.	DEAF-MUTE.									
	MALE.					FEMALE.				
	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
TOTAL	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*
0—5	309	603	443	805	238	370	699	499	931	362
5—10	1,456	1,624	1,794	2,136	793	1,576	1,487	1,844	2,137	756
10—15	1,528	1,672	1,575	1,629	848	1,524	1,620	1,600	1,632	820
15—20	965	1,158	1,224	1,118	909	1,059	1,237	1,307	1,086	1,065
20—25	912	1,082	893	950	1,361	966	1,179	1,182	996	1,384
25—30	1,088	1,114	919	764		805	1,064	792	791	
30—35	928	831	795	738	1,830	882	841	737	776	1,502
35—40	557	615	502	526		499	507	434	481	
40—45	606	457	524	376	1,641	603	467	510	400	1,395
45—50	353	247	223	190		319	218	190	125	
50—55	383	260	399	321	879	482	231	325	245	1,193
55—60	198	83	146	119		202	129	98	50	
60 and over	717	254	553	328	1,501	693	321	482	350	1,523

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II—*concld.*

Distribution of the infirm by age per 10,000 *of each sex.*

Age.	Blind.									
	Male.					Female.				
	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
TOTAL	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*
0—5	271	363	371	373	168	290	318	302	282	161
5—10	599	547	607	528	396	370	348	465	443	411
10—15	576	509	555	548	471	351	364	483	393	279
15—20	425	412	368	426	493	495	364	439	386	535
20—25	420	413	515	449	1,040	362	401	358	428	968
25—30	527	496	541	419		432	483	494	435	
30—35	579	638	614	495	1,338	554	592	523	518	1,026
35—40	539	530	469	439		545	521	535	425	
40—45	678	679	794	788	1,278	743	732	804	778	1,268
45—50	561	591	578	425		616	572	571	460	
50—55	999	925	925	815	1,647	1,056	1,050	1,088	1,003	1,635
55—60	524	509	407	432		529	562	417	386	
60 and over	3,312	3,398	3,256	3,863	3,169	3,837	3,688	3,521	4,063	3,717

Age.	Lepers.									
	Male.					Female.				
	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41
TOTAL...	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*
0—5	39	27	33	31	75	95	46	70	119	88
5—10	169	73	135	145	187	329	128	252	338	420
10—15	314	274	356	375	390	615	521	678	719	409
15—20	474	399	485	472	718	711	741	861	744	862
20—25	556	607	617	609	1,432	832	887	896	794	1,602
25—30	979	961	957	878		1,023	1,290	878	1,051	
30—35	1,184	1,330	1,240	1,277	2,399	1,294	1,354	1,287	1,245	2,022
35—40	1,230	1,275	1,234	1,361		901	970	904	982	
40—45	1,260	1,635	1,381	1,468	2,059	1,179	1,060	1,078	1,207	1,580
45—50	952	894	874	805		806	686	626	550	
50—55	1,069	1,000	924	1,065	1,457	797	869	974	807	1,481
55—60	529	357	353	351		312	403	400	306	
60 and over	1,245	1,168	1,402	1,166	1,283	1,196	1,025	1,096	1,138	1,536

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Number afflicted per 100,000 *persons of each age period and number of females afflicted per* 1,000 *males.*

Age.	Number afflicted per 100.000.								Number of females afflicted per 1,000 males.			
	Insane.		Deaf-mute.		Blind.		Lepers.		Insane.	Deaf-mute.	Blind.	Lepers.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ALL AGES	57	45	78	60	97	96	80	25	24	686	920	349
0—5 ...	4	3	18	15	20	13	2	2	857	860	679	846
5—10 ...	17	13	71	56	36	21	8	6	716	777	578	679
10—15 ...	27	34	99	87	46	32	21	18	1,015	717	560	683
15—20 ...	46	40	95	70	52	43	48	23	927	788	877	522
20—25 ...	76	49	99	65	57	38	62	27	758	776	793	522
25—30 ...	95	52	95	51	57	44	88	32	541	544	755	364
30—35 ...	97	70	88	66	69	66	116	45	659	683	880	355
35—40 ...	88	77	61	55	74	96	139	50	630	644	931	256
40—45 ...	103	94	77	70	107	137	164	68	719	714	1,007	326
45—50 ...	99	168	72	68	143	209	199	85	756	649	1,009	295
50—55 ...	101	100	76	85	246	297	216	70	794	903	973	260
55—60 ...	110	80	95	94	314	391	261	70	541	734	929	206
60 and over ...	79	82	137	107	788	942	244	91	932	694	1,066	335

CHAPTER XI.

CASTE, TRIBE, RACE OR NATIONALITY.

Nature and Scope of return.

135. The statistics of caste or race have been collected at every Indian census since 1872. Serious suggestions have been made at various times for the omission of the question from the schedules and for the suppression of the classification of the Hindu population into castes in the census tables and reports. A Resolution was put down to this effect in the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1920. The resolution emanated from Assam and was to have been moved by a member from the Surma Valley, but owing to absence of the member it was never moved. The chief grounds for the motion appear to have been that the returns serve no useful purpose on account of their inaccuracy and that Government should not assist in the perpetuation of the caste system and thereby encourage feuds between caste groups. A similar motion was put down in the Assam Legislative Council in 1921, but was ruled out as the Local Government had no power to alter the census questions ; also it was too late.

As to the first objection, we must admit to much inaccuray, due partly to real ignorance and confusion about the foreign castes of immigrants and partly to indigenous tribes' and castes' changing their names or taking names previously used by other castes, in order to advance their social position.* Although this latter tendency has certainly been more pronounced in Assam at this census than at previous ones, it is a habit of old standing in some parts of the province. In 1891, Mr. Herald, the Subdivisional Officer of South Sylhet wrote,—" The tendency is to write down a higher caste. This is by no means confined to the census. Registered deeds, land revenue receipts, etc., were produced showing that the claimants had been striving (successfully in many cases) to raise their caste....." It is not true, however, to say that the statistics are worthless, for caste is still the dominant factor in many problems of demographic importance in Hindu society over the greater part of India. Perhaps in this province the actual numbers in the Hindu castes are important in only a few cases, but a knowledge of races and tribes is essential for administrative purposes in addition to its academic interest. It must be remembered that the statistics obtained and tabulated are for *caste, tribe, race or nationality*, and not for caste alone. If we could have satisfactory definitions of ' Bengali ' and ' Assamese ' as race terms, and if the races of immigrants to tea gardens could be determined easily, it would certainly be a matter of much less trouble to the census staff to record and tabulate only race statistics instead of caste for Hindus and Muhammadans, just as is done now for Animists, Buddhists and Christians.

As to the second main objection, relating to caste feuds, it is wrong to say that the action of the Government by keeping the caste column in the census perpetuates the system and foments differences : the feuds arise from the action of the various castes themselves in cultivating the mistaken notion that the census can be used as a lever for raising their status. The census tries to record only facts as they are, and it is a principle that any man is at liberty to return the caste to which he believes he belongs. Therefore, after receipt of numerous petitions and counter-petitions, an order was passed by the Local Government that every person's caste should be entered as he himself described it, provided a real caste name was given. This, of course, assumed that every man must be supposed to be telling what he believed to be the truth. In fact, the rank and file of castes who returned new names often probably believed that they were entitled to them ; whether their leaders and the Pandits or Gossains from whom decrees were obtained (generally by purchase) believed the same thing is not within my province to discuss. Certain it is that no amount of census figures, nothing but the verdict of society itself, can raise any caste or any individual in social status. No names of persons are kept on record from the census, and whatever social or religious differences existed before appear to exist in just the same measure after the adoption of a new caste-name ; if there is any change in status it is due to culture and wealth rather than to the alteration of name.

* A discussion of the relation of the caste system to the four classes or *Varnas* of the *Shāstras* and the fifth class outside the pale will be found in Chapter XI of the India Census Report, 1911.

Hence no departure from the previous practice as to the collection of caste and race statistics was made by the Government of India at this census. But it has been decided that the subject should be treated more from a practical point, as an element of the population in its social and demographical aspect, than from the point of view of ethnography or origins. Adjudication on the validity of particular caste claims finds no place in the census report.

A glossary and various notes on the distribution of caste were given in 1911. Questions of division into functional sub-castes and groups have been dealt with sufficiently in previous census reports—notably that of 1891. Caste or race in relation to age distribution, sex, marriage, literacy and infirmities at this census has been dealt with in the chapters on those subjects. We are concerned now with the variations in numbers and the movements for change made in the decade by various castes and tribes. New information of ethnological interest has been added in the Appendices.

The statistics and their accuracy.

136. I have pointed out in the last paragraph that the census record of caste is merely an incident occurring in the course of the various caste and social movements, and that it is only the agitating castes themselves which seek in the record an adventitious aid not intended. This factor has been much more effective in vitiating the statistics of the present census than those of former ones, because the tendency to take names already in use by other castes has increased greatly, where before the usual practice was to adopt entirely new names. Different communities are not being fused by return of the same caste-name, but our statistics have been obscured by it in many cases.

Naturally, there was a certain amount of friction in places where an enumerator of higher caste considered that persons of an aspiring caste had no right to the names they returned. This was partly surmounted by visits and supervision of higher officials, but it is probable that some enumerators disobeyed the Government order: in such cases we cannot say that the record is inaccurate, however, since the old (and perhaps truer) caste name was recorded. To avoid increasing this friction and also because the Government order as to record of every person's caste rendered an index unnecessary, it was decided not to issue any caste-index such as was used at the last census. The index of 1911 was used, where necessary, in the course of tabulation, but it was not used at enumeration. The mixture of figures is extensive for many of the indigenous castes and will be discussed in the next paragraph.

For tea garden immigrants lists of castes were given in the Census Code and Supervisors' Instructions, and these were used with whatever local supplements and orders the District Officers and Charge Superintendents of tea districts found it necessary to issue. On the whole, I think the tea garden record of caste and race is at least as accurate as that of 1911, and probably more so, owing to the care taken by District and Subdivisional Officers and others in charge of the garden census. Certainly it is more accurate than the record of languages on tea gardens.

A third source of inaccuracy is found in the tribal or race statistics where there have been conversions to Christianity. The instruction to the census staff was—

'For Christians the race or tribe should be shown in column 8. Christian converts who do not recognise caste should be entered as Indian Christains.'

Unfortunately the latter part of this was acted on in many cases of Christians of hill races, instead of only for those converts of the plains who had no definite tribe. In some cases comparison with language and birth-place entries has enabled us to place the Christians in their tribes (*e.g.*, Khasis, Garos and Ao Nagas), but outside the well-defined hill races, such inferences from langauge would be dangerous.

The chief statistics of caste are contained in Imperial Table XIII. Those for tea gardens are in Provincial Table X. In order to reduce the size of the Imperial Table, only castes with strength over one per mille of the provincial population have been shown, except in a few cases of hill tribes and others for which figures were needed for administrative reasons. Owing to a wrong interpretation of the instructions, the Sylhet Central Office did not sort the bundles of Buddhist and minor religion slips for caste or tribe; but this matters little as it has not caused any indigenous caste of importance to disappear from the tables.

The three Subsidiary Tables appended to this chapter show (I) castes classified according to traditional occupation; (II) variation in castes since 1881; (III) variation in certain indigenous castes and races of the Brahmaputra Valley referred to in paragraph 139 below.

As to the first Subsidiary Table, I fear that not much reliance can be placed on the classification. It is necessary to classify somehow, and this appears to be the method least likely to lead to friction among castes. The immediate motive of nearly all the caste movements is the getting of some name which will show the caste to be agricultural and avoid the supposed odium of occupations such as fishing or labouring. Thus some persons whose old or real occupation is something other than cultivation are now shown under cultivators, because they have returned a cultivating caste.

Caste movements—Hindus and Animists.

137. Instead of the movement towards universal brotherhood advocated by reformers at various times* and reiterated recently by political leaders of the advanced school in India, we have to chronicle numerous separate movements started and continued by different castes for themselves and themselves alone. Being, as they generally are, efforts to raise their position by classes or groups who have had other classes on their backs for centuries, the movements are confined naturally to the castes concerned. Whether they are good or bad movements and whether the castes are entitled to the new names they have taken is not to be discussed here. I shall merely note the various agitations and their effects on the statistics. All alike are distinguished by the mark of clannishness or what for want of a better term might be called clan-selfishness—none has any connection with the uplift of other castes or the advance of society in general. And it was noticeable that some of the leaders in special caste agitations were themselves either connected with some political party or had political ends in view.

Representations were received sometimes from within the province, sometimes from without and sometimes from both.

Excluding minor changes or errors in nomenclature, the following is a list of castes and groups affected either by their own or others' agitation or changes of name:—

Baniya.	Grahabipra.	Mahishya.	Sudra.
Barui.	Kachari.	Mali.	Sunri.
Bhuinmali.	Kaibartta.	Mech.	Sut.
Boria.	Kaibartta Chasi.	Nadiyal.	Tambuli.
Brahman.	Kaibartta Jalia.	Napit.	Tanti.
Brittial Baniya.	Katani.	Patni.	Teli.
Das.	Kayastha.	Rajbansi.	Vaisya.
Dhoba.	Koch.	Saha.	Vaisya Saha.
Dom.	Kshattriya.	Sonwal.	Yogi.
			Yogis' Brahman.

It will be convenient to consider the movements in these castes as far as possible in alphabetical order; this will also obviate any suggestion that we are attempting to classify by social precedence. In what follows, where castes are grouped or discussed together, it must not be presumed that there is necessarily any connection between them unless it is so stated. The number in brackets after each caste is the total strength in round thousands, where it has been tabulated.

Baniya is usually regarded as a generic name of various trading castes, although it appears in the caste returns of other parts of India. The leaders of the Brittial Baniyas in Assam decided at this census to omit the prefix Brittial. This caused very little confusion with other castes, as there are only a few traders from Western India who return themselves as Banias in Assam. But the propaganda was not complete: the community is one, but part returned the old name and part the new. The result was that each part fell below the standard strength of 1 per mille and neither appears in the main tables. The total strength is 9,174 (5,989 Brittials and 3,185 Baniyas)—a slight decrease since 1911.

Baruis (9) returned themselves as Kayasthas in very many cases, and their recorded numbers have therefore dropped from 25,000 to 9,000. There were sharp quarrels in some places over this claim. This movement is not a new one—see 1911 report, page 128.

Bhuinmalis (2) have nearly all adopted the designation of Mali, the tendency to which was noted in 1911. Hence the heavy fall in their numbers from 35,000.

Borias are now only 1,400 against 22,000 at the last census. The reason for this is that they have preferred to give the name Sut, under which over 21,000 have been tabulated. See note on page 129 of the last report.

*For a recent instance, see a speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur at Nasik in 1920. He advocated the dissolution of castes and an equal start for all at birth. Speech reported in the Press, April 24th, 1920.

Brahmans (160) have increased by about 27 per cent. This is due in part probably to growth, but chiefly to the inclusion of more Barna Brahmans and Agradanis than in 1911. In particular a large accretion to the numbers seems to have come from the Mahants or priests of the Yogi (Jogi) community. These were chosen originally from within the caste, and used formerly to be returned with the Yogis, but at this census a section of them broke from their fellows and decided to return themselves as Brahmans.

Das (31) or Halwa Das did not appear as a caste or sub-caste name at the last census, owing to neglect of directions, as explained by Mr. McSwiney under Kaibartta on pages 131-132 of his report. The differences between the sections of the Mahishyas in the Surma Valley appear to have been made up ; and the Dases have been classed under Mahishya in the tables, as the majority of those returning the name of Das for caste seem to have done so in disgust at the assumption of the name Mahishya by Patnis. One gentleman of position in the Sunamganj subdivision informed me that he was a Das and had no connection with the Mahishyas ; yet he had presided at a meeting of the local Mahishya Samiti held a few years before. Probably some Patnis also gave Das as their caste, but I do not think the number of these was great.

Dhobas (33) or Dhobis have decreased slightly in the ten years. From the Surma Valley they submitted a petition stating that there is no such caste as Dhoba or Dhobi mentioned in the *Shāstras* and asking that ' Hindu ' should be entered in the caste column of the schedule as Dhoba is merely a sect of Hindus. They asked also that the statement about their association with Chandals should be removed (see 1911 Report page 130). An intermittent correspondence in the newspapers has been carried on, with the intention of showing that the Dhobi is as indispensable as certain other functionaries at Hindu festivals and that he has plenty of reason to have his untouchability removed.

Doms (25) have decreased from 31,000. This is because fewer of the indigenous Doms now return themselves as such. They were formerly shown with Nadiyals and Patnis. At the last census, some entries were tested and it was found that over half the Doms in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur were Assamese. Most of these, however, have now given up Dom in favour of Nadiyal or Kaibartta as a caste name, and the Doms censused are nearly all foreigners ; the tea garden caste table shows that 20,000 out of the total of 25,000 were counted on gardens at this census, whereas only about half the 1911 total were garden coolies.

Grahabipras or Ganaks (14) are only two-thirds of their previous number, owing to their returning themselves as Brahmans. This movement is much stronger in the Brahmaputra Valley than in the Surma Valley.

Kacharis (207).—This tribe has followed different movements in different districts. The total number of Kacharis shown has decreased by 23,000. But this is not real. More than half the 28,000 in Lakhimpur returned themselves by the sub-caste name of Sonwal.* In Goalpara, where there were no Kacharis in 1911, we find now nearly 11,000 ; this corresponds with a decrease in Meches. In Kamrup there has been a substantial increase in the tribal number ; this has been concurrent with a large number of conversions to Hinduism, which in this case has not induced abandonment of the old name. Nowgong and Darrang have slight decreases, which may be attributed to new names : Kshattriyas appear increased in both districts, and in Darrang, some new converts to Hinduism returned Mahalia* and a few Solanemia* as caste names. In Nowgong a section returned themselves as Saktas in the caste as well as in the religion column. Sibsagar lost some Kacharis by a transfer of territory to the Naga Hills. In North Cachar, practically all the Kacharis returned themselves as Kshattriyas. They were at first entered properly as Kacharis, with their language as Dimasa ; but afterwards the entries were scored out by the enumerators under the influence of a few literate men, and the language was entered either as Hairimbi or as Bengali, with the caste as Kshattriya. The Subdivisional Officer reports that the people themselves knew little and cared little about this movement. See also Chapter IX, paragraph 123.

The decrease in number of Kacharis is also due partly to conversion to Christianity ; Christians are not shown in our race or caste table and the numbers are not traceable as some were entered merely as Indian Christians.

* Described in Assam Census Report, 1891, pages 227, 235, 236.

Kaibarttas (92) were shown in 1911 under three sub-heads : Kaibartta Chasi Kaibarta Jalia and simple Kaibartta. See also Assam Census Report of 1901, page 132. The three groups have now been tabulated as entirely different castes, and the Mahisya caste has also been separated entirely. Those who returned themselves as Kaibartta only have increased more than fourfold from the 1911 total of 21,000. Some of this increase must be due to natural growth, but the greater part represents Nadiyals and Doms of the Brahmaputra Valley and Jalia Kaibarttas of Sylhet who have given up their old titles in favour of the simple Kaibartta. It was remarked in the 1911 report that, although the names Kewat and Kaibartta seemed to be interchangeable in Kamrup, the Kewats were discarding the word Kaibartta because of its assumption by the Nadiyals ; this process seems to be complete now and we find that Kewats (100) have an increase such as might be expected by ordinary growth.

Kaibartta Chasis (9) numbered 65,000 in 1911. The present decrease is due to separate tabulation of the Mahisyas.

Kaibartta Jalias (3).—The drop from 45,000 in 1911 comes from the return by this group and the Patnis either of plain Kaibartta or of Mahisya, which latter name they had not thought of assuming at former censuses. With the change of caste name has gone a movement to return their occupations as cultivation rather than fishing or boating and to give up in some cases the retail selling of fish even when they have not given up fishing.

Katani is the name of the section of the Yogis living in the Brahmaputra Valley who were formerly supposed to be the only people who could or would rear the *pat* silkworm. They have been classed under Yogi, but I mention them here as a representation was received about their inclusion with the sub-sections known as *Polupohas* and *Thiyapotas*. The objection was withdrawn by the maker and all these were included as Yogis. There is a prejudice against rearing the *pat* silkworm as unclean, but recently eggs have been supplied by the Industries Department to some non-Katanis, who have reared them successfully and so far have not been outcasted.

Kayasthas (122).—From 82,000 the number of Kayasthas has grown to 122,000. A great part of this increase is due to Baruis using the name. Some other castes must also have returned Kayastha, but it is not possible to determine them.

Koches (229).—No special reports or representations were received about this caste or tribe. Their numbers have fluctuated since 1891, and this census shows a decrease of about 11,000. This used to be the caste into which converts from Animism were received in the Brahmaputra Valley ; the present decrease, in face of large natural increases all over the valley, points to the disuse of this practice in some districts. Some of the new converts, instead of becoming Saru Koches or Saranias, are keeping their old tribal names and some are describing themselves as Kshattriyas. In Goalpara where the largest drop in Koches occurs, and where there is also a great decrease in Rajbansis, there appear for the first time many thousands of Kacharis and Kshattriyas. In Darrang the decrease is due to omission of Mahalias, whose figures were included with Koches in 1911.

Kshattriya (347).—Formerly the name of Kshattriya was practically synonymous with Manipuri in this province : outside Manipur, and Cachar and Sylhet where there are old Manipuri settlements, only a few hundred Kshattriyas used to be counted. In the last few years the claim to an ancestry with epic associations has been adopted or revived by leaders or outsiders for other tribes in process of conversion to Hinduism or already converted. The result is a very large increase in the number of persons returning Kshattriya as their caste. After deducting a genuine increase of 26,000 for Manipur, we have still about 70,000 Kshattriyas above the total of the last census to account for. Goalpara has nearly 49,000, where there were none in 1911: these are Rajbansis and Koches. Kamrup has 6,000, apparently people who were Koches before. Nowgong, Darrang and the Garo Hills show over 1,000 Kshattriyas each—probably *ex*-Kacharis or other Bodo tribes. The rest are nearly all accounted for by the Kacharis of North Cachar : this movement I have described above under Kachari.

Mahisyas (70) with Dases (31) belong to Bengal and the Surma Valley. They obtained permission before the census of 1911 to be tabulated as Mahisya by caste in place of their old name of Chasi Kaibartta. They quote Shāstric authority and trace descent from the union of a Kshattriya father and Vaisya mother. The numbers tabulated for the caste have been swelled greatly, and our statistics have been much confused by the return of the same caste name by the Patnis and Jalia Kaibarttas

The community has been distinguished for its loyalty to the established Government and the leaders in the Surma Valley consider that their prestige has been impaired by the intrusion into their caste of others with whom, it is said, they have no connection whatever.

Malis (47) have increased by nearly 33,000. This is accounted for by an almost equal decrease of Bhuinmalis, who were also censused under Mali in 1881. They naturally prefer the latter name, as the Malis or Malakars of Bengal are included among the Nava-Sakha.

Meches (81) in Assam are practically confined to Goalpara, where the number so returned has decreased by about 6,000. The number of Animist Meches is only about half that of 1911, while the number of Hindus is much the same. Some of the Hindus who wished to abandon the tribal name of Mech described themselves as Bara by caste and language and Brahma by religion. (See Chapter IV, paragraph 64). These were identified by putting Mech in brackets after Bara in the general schedules. The fact is that there has been a real increase in the tribe in Goalpara—the language returns show about 20,000 more speakers of the tribal language—but about 11,000 have described themselves as Kacharis for the first time. There is also a number of Mech Christians. Some of the growth of the tribe is due to immigration from Jalpaiguri.

Nadiyals (18) were 68,000 in the Brahmaputra Valley at last census. The difference has gone into Kaibartta (see above). A movement similar to that of the Jalia Kaibarttas of the other valley has been going on with the intention of improving their status; and the local newspapers have been invoked. Considerable efforts have been made by the caste to stop selling fish, at any rate in public markets, and to stop the going of their women-folk to bazars.

Napits (33) have lost about 4,000. Most of this was in Sylhet, where it appears they suffered privation with the rest of the population. From Goalpara Napits a petition was submitted asking that they should be called Chandravaidyas and protesting against being classed with the Kalitas—see remark under Napit on page 135 of the 1911 report.

Patnis (44).—These were 111,000 at last census. As explained above, a strong movement was started, and decrees of Pandits were obtained, to allow the Patnis to use Mahisya as their caste-name. It was suggested by one of the leaders in the movement (himself a Brahman) that a caste which was so looked down on could not hope to improve its status without getting a better name; but it is not clear why they could not find a name unappropriated by others. It seems from the reports and figures that some Patnis also returned themselves as Sudra. They have not given up fishing and boat-plying entirely, but many returned their occupation as cultivation.

Rajbansis (92) appear decreased by about 30 per cent., owing to the use of the caste name Kshattriya in Goalpara. The movement did not affect the other districts of the Brahmaputra Valley, where the Rajbansis, though few, show increases over the 1911 numbers. In Goalpara there was a split in the caste. Only those striving for higher social and religious status, and reforming their manners and rites according to a strict interpretation of the *Shāstras* have taken the caste name Kshattriya (and with it the sacred thread).

Saha (46) includes Sahas, Sunris, Saus and Vaisya Sahas, but not those who returned themselves as Vaisya only. The group has decreased by some 7,000, owing to the movement of the Sylhet members of the caste to use Das as their surname and Vaisya as their caste name. In other districts the caste has increased in numbers, and in the whole province if Vaisyas and Sahas be added we find an increase of about 16 per cent., so that this class of traders is evidently flourishing. A printed application was received from a learned Vakil of Calcutta on behalf of the Shoundika community, asking that all Sunris, Sahas, Kalwars, Saus, etc., should be placed under the class Kshattriya, and sept 'Shoundika Ognikul Hoihoyo-Wongshiyo.' Perhaps it is only the system of transliteration that gives its kakophony to this title; fortunately our Kshattriya statistics were not further confused by this addition in Assam, as the community here preferred to retain its Vaisya connection and none are reported to have returned Kshattriya as their caste.

Sonwal (16) was the sub-caste name returned by many of the Hindu Kacharis of Lakhimpur and Sadiya and a very few of Darrang. The name did not appear at the last census, or if it was given at all, the members were tabulated under Kachari. They were gold-washers under the Ahom Rajas.

Sudras (166) nearly all belong to Sylhet. In 1911 less than 119,000 were censused. The large increase is due apparently to many Patnis, Jalia Kaibarttas and others having assumed the name.

Sunris are few and have been classed under Saha. There were less than 3,000 at the last census.

Sut (21) is the name taken by the Borias. See Boria above.

Tambulis are too few to appear separately in the tables in this province. In 1911 there were only 73. A petition was received from Bihar, asking for them to be classed as Nagbansi Kshattriyas.

Tantis (76).—The number has nearly doubled in the decade. This is due to increase in Tanti coolies on tea gardens, and probably also to the more accurate tabulation of the sub-caste Jugi of these immigrant Tantis of Bengal and Bihar.

Telis (39) have increased in number very slightly, as they belong mainly to Sylhet and suffered from the general depression there. They petitioned to be entered as Vaisya Tili. They are of course Hindus, but were tabulated as Animists by a misprint in 1911.

Vaisya (25) besides being the name of one of Manu's classes, is also that of an indigenous cultivating caste of Kamrup. The provincial number has increased more than sixfold, mainly on account of the movement of the Sahas or Vaisya Sahas in the Surma Valley. I am at a loss to account for the very large increase in Kamrup from 3,000 to nearly 12,000, since the number of Sahas has also increased there, and the natural growth of population in the district has been only 5·7 per cent.

Yogis (161) were tabulated at the last census as Jogi (Jugi), and their numbers have fallen by nearly 8,000. The chief reason of the decline appears to have been the separation of many of their priests, who were formerly tabulated under the general caste name. The leaders of this caste have been making great efforts to rise in the social scale, and from the beginning of the census operations have made applications about the spelling of their caste name and the use of Nath and Devanath as titles for their men, and Devi for their women. Although the enumerators and the public were assured that names of individuals were of no value in the census record save for the temporary purpose of identification of entries before tabulation, many protests were made by members of the higher castes, especially against the use of the title Devi. As noted by Risley as long ago as 1891, no intelligible reason can be given for the treatment to which the caste is subjected by other Hindus.* The discarding of widow remarriage and alteration of certain of their marriage customs are among the methods adopted by the caste in the effort to improve its position. They have been at great pains to emphasise their ascetic origin, for which the spelling Yogi instead of Jogi or Jugi has been adopted. Their leaders have also taken exception to the description of the courtship or marriage negotiations noted in the Assam Census Report of 1911, paragraph 80; although the outsider may find in it a rather interesting and charming ceremony, it is felt to be a cause of ridicule by educated members of the caste, who deny the practice. Another point of objection was the inclusion in former years of the Sapmelas or snakecharmers and Duliyas or palki-bearers as Jogis in Upper Assam.

Yogis' Brahmans at previous censuses were entered under the general caste name of Jogi (Jugi), but they, or a section of them, have recently claimed a different origin and have returned themselves as Brahmans; they have also assumed the Brahman titles of Sarma and Chakravartti in place of their old names of Nath or Mahanta. Some 70 in Lakhimpur have been recorded as Yogis' Brahmans As far back as 1891, however, the Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet reported that Mali- and Jugi-Brahmans in many cases omitted the Mali or Jugi prefix and entered themselves as Brahmans only.†

Of other indigenous Hindu and Animist castes of the plains there is little of change or of special value to be noted. Most have varied their numbers according to the tendency of the localities where they predominate. The *Hiras* (15), who are potters in the Brahmaputra Valley, lost somewhat in numbers, chiefly in Nowgong; there is at the same time a remarkable increase of Namasudras from 77 to 4,365 in Nowgong. Part of this may be due to immigration, but it seems that some Hiras must

* The Tribes and Castes of Bengal, page 359.

† Assam Census Report, 1891, Appendix A, ix.

have returned Namasudra as their caste, although no report was received of such a movement. (For connection of the two castes, see last Report, Hira, page 131). The Mataks and Morans, who numbered over 10,000 in 1911, have disappeared owing to return of various other and more correct caste-names (*see* pages 134-135 of the 1911 Report).

Two great race-castes of the Brahmaputra Valley, Ahoms and Chutiyas, both show steady increases. The Rabhas have decreased somewhat; this is probably owing to return of different names, since the loss is mainly among Hindu Rabhas, and we know that conversion to Hinduism has been going on.

The Tiparas of the Surma Valley have dropped in numbers from 10,000 to 5,000; numbers of them have gone across the border into Tripura State after the prohibition of *jhuming* in Sylhet.

Muhammadans.

138. Although there is a general agreement among the Musalmans of Assam that they have no caste, it has been the custom in the past to classify them in the usual groups or families such as Saiad, Mogul, Pathan, Sheikh, and in the functional sections Mahimal, Jolaha, etc.

There are only a few thousands of Saiads and of the Upper India race-groups. The great majority of ordinary Muhammadan cultivators is always returned as Sheikh, which title, however respectable its original meaning, has now come to denote any Musalman not belonging to one of the other special classes. The marginally-noted groups were affected by social movements among the Muhammadans.

Jolaha.
Mahimal.
Moria.
(Musalman unspecified).
Nagarchi.
Sheikh.

Jolahas or Muhammadan weavers in many cases asked to be entered as Sheikh. Their number was over 7,000 in 1911 but is now too small to appear in the tables.

Mahimals (22) have fallen to about 30 per cent. of their last census total. Their profession is fishing, but they have considered it more respectable to return the title of Sheikh than their traditional 'Mahi,' even when they have not given up fishing or boat-plying.

Morias, according to Ahom history, are the descendants of Muhammadan prisoners captured at the defeat of Turbuk in 1510 A.D. They number only one or two thousands and have not been shown in our tables. In Sadiya they asked to be returned as Morangia, but this was disallowed as not being a proper caste or race entry. They are the brass workers of Upper Assam, but their industry was killed owing to stoppage of supply of raw material (imported brass sheets) during the war; and many of them took to agriculture.

Musalman, unspecified (76).—The increase of this group from 300 in 1911 to 76,000 at this census arises from two causes. The first and the chief cause among Assamese Muhammadans has been the growing objection to admit the existence of any institution resembling the Hindu caste-system. When questioned as to their caste, race or tribe many answered either 'none' or 'Musalman'; and we had no alternative but to tabulate them as 'unspecified.' The second reason for increase in the group was the abandonment by many of their title of Sheikh as a protest against its assumption by Mahimals, Nagarchis and Jolahas.

Nagarchis, Muhammadan drummers, numbered only 3,500 in 1911, and even less were returned at this census, as many called themselves Sheikhs.

Sheikhs (2,066) have increased by well over a quarter of a million in the decade. The causes are (1) natural growth of the old population: it should be noted that the Sylhet Muhammadans, mainly Sheikhs, have increased while their Hindu brothers of the district have stood still; (2) immigration to the Brahmaputra Valley from Eastern Bengal; (3) adoption of Sheikh as a name by Mahimals and others who did not claim it before.

Most of the Manipuri Musalmans returned themselves as Sheikh and not as Manipuri by race. They have shared in the general prosperity of the Manipur Valley, and their number in the State is now 16,500 against 13,500 ten years ago. There are some Musalmans among the Manipuris settled in Cachar and Sylhet. These also were entered as Sheikhs and we have no separate record of their number; in 1891 over 7,000 Manipuri Musalmans were recorded in the Surma Valley.

The other functional groups of Muhammadans such as Hajjam, Dhuniya Lalbegi, were too small in number for separate record at this census.

The Assamese.

139. In Subsidiary Table III are shown the variations of certain indigenous castes and races of the five upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley. These are nearly the same castes as those shown by Mr. Allen in 1901 and Mr. McSwiney in 1911 for estimation of the rise or decline in the number of the Assamese people;* but I have had to omit some minor castes for which we have no separate figures, and also one or two castes such as the Yogis (Jogis) and the Baniyas whose figures have been obscured by other causes.

Statistics of the same castes are shown for the two last census years, and as most of the different members affected by the movements have been included, we can use the figures for the purpose of rough comparison. As there is no clear definition of the Assamese as a race or people we can do no better than to adopt this method of taking a group of typical castes and tribes and assuming, as was done in 1901 and 1911, that what holds good for these in the five main Assamese districts holds good for all. The numbers dealt with form about 53 per cent. of the whole population of the area.

Assamese castes and races.

District.	Variation per cent.		
	1891-1901.	1901-1911.	1911-1921.
Kamrup ...	—9·3	+11·4	+3·0
Darrang ...	—5·9	—0·2	—0·8
Nowgong ...	—31·5	+14·7	+8·1
Sibsagar ...	+8·6	+12·3	+7·8
Lakhimpur ...	+19·7	+17·5	+6·4
Total ...	—6·4	+11·1	+5·0

The statement in the margin shows the variations for the last 3 censuses. The actual proportion of Assamese is of course kept down by the large number of immigrants. The figures certainly show that the Assamese are not dying out. The percentage increases in 1921 would be somewhat greater and the Darrang deficit would become an excess if we included persons who returned their castes as Kshattriya and some others which it is impossible to isolate. The 1901 decreases were due to effects of *Kala-azar* and the 1897 earthquake, and the large increases of 1911 to recovery after those calamities. At this census the increase of the Assamese is not as high as the natural increase in the whole valley (8·3 per cent.). This may be attributed partly to greater fecundity of the immigrant population, including those settled in villages. But it is also due to omission of some sections of castes, as explained above, and to exclusion of the two Frontier Tracts. Some of the people now in Sadiya and Balipara were included in the Darrang and Lakhimpur calculations in previous years, but as new areas are also dealt with in these frontier tracts, the statistics would have been loaded unfairly in favour of the increase factor by their inclusion.

Hill and frontier races.

140. It is not permissible to dilate at length on the characteristics, customs and origins of our hill tribes, since it has been ruled that ethnological studies are not to form any prominent feature of the present census. Moreover, we have in Assam a series of monographs (published under Government instructions) which are likely to stand for many years as authorities on their subjects. The series has received several additions in the last ten years. I give in the margin a list of the volumes in order of their dates of appearance. Notes on other tribes such as the Lalungs and Rabhas will be found in previous census reports; in particular, the 1891 report contains a store of information on various tribes and sub-tribes whose numbers in the province are too small to allow of separate notes in every report.

The Meithels.
„ Mikirs.
„ Garos.
„ Naga Tribes of Manipur.
„ Kacharis.
„ Lushei Kuki Clans.
„ Khasis.
„ Angami Nagas.
„ Sema Nagas.
„ Lhota Nagas.

As a rule the tribes live in well-defined areas, and changes in their numbers, languages and conditions of life or habits revealed by the census have been discussed in dealing with those areas in Chapter I or under the special subjects concerned in the other chapters of this report. Movements among the Kacharis have been referred to in paragraph 137 above.

A representation was received from the head of the Diengdoh clan asking for the inclusion of all Syntengs, Lynngams, Bhois, etc., in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills as Khasis. This was received too late for any action to be taken, Syntengs and Wars have been shown separately and the others have not, as their numbers are small.

* See paragraph 31 of Assam Census Report, 1911.

At the instance of Mr. Hutton, Honorary Director of Ethnography in Assam, certain information was collected at the census time about tribes of which we have little of recent date on record. Summaries of the notes which various officers were kind enough to prepare on the Khamtis, Singphos, Abors, Miris, Mishmis, Akas and Daflas are printed at the end of this report as Appendix B. Some extracts from a paper by Mr. Hutton himself on the connection of different Naga tribes, their origin and certain of their customs, are also added in Appendix C, with a note on the disposal of the dead in Appendix D.

141. The principal castes and races found on tea gardens are tabulated in Provincial Table X. Those supplying over 10,000 are noted in the margin, with the numbers actually enumerated on the gardens shown in round thousands, for 1911 and 1921. The large increases of Mundas and Tantis are noticeable. These and other figures of castes not shown indicate the predominance in the decade of Chota Nagpur, Bihar and Orissa as recruiting grounds for garden labourers.

Caste on tea gardens.

Hindus and Animists [000's omitted.]

Caste.	1921.	1911.	Caste.	1921.	1911.
Ahir	5	11	Kurmi ...	14	12
Bauri	34	36	Munda ...	76	53
Bhar	6	10	Musahar ...	7	10
Bhuiya ...	38	44	Oraon ...	19	12
Bhumij ...	30	25	Oriya ...	11	4
Chamar ...	37	37	(unspecified).		
Dom	20	15	Pan	23	25
Ghasi ...	17	11	Santal ...	38	32
Goala	22	16	Tanti... ...	60	31
Gond	31	35	Turi	12	13
Kamar ...	30	24			

The Bhuiya, Bhumij, Dom, Ghasi, Gond, Kamar, Munda, Oraon, and Tanti castes are found mostly in the Brahmaputra Valley; the Ahirs, Bhars, Chamars and Musahars in the Surma Valley. The other castes in the list are more evenly distributed in the two valleys.

Musalmans form only 2 per cent. of the tea garden population and many of these are not recruited coolies but contract workers living in Assam districts. Most of them returned themselves as Sheikhs, some merely as Musalmans.

Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

142. The statistics of Europeans and Anglo-Indians by age and sex are given in Imperial Table XVI. The numbers for the province as a whole have changed little since the last census, although in individual districts there are variations. Adding the few Armenians to 'European and Allied Races' we have now a total for this category of 2,768; in 1911 the number was 2,730. The Anglo-Indians have increased only from 475 to 491 in the ten years.

There is doubtless some inaccurary in the returns. As always a certain number of Anglo-Indians are prone to describe themselves by the race of one of their European progenitors, more or less remote, and some illegitimate children of European fathers probably go down under the caste or race names of their mothers. We have no means of estimating such inaccuracies. But the domiciled community problem is not important in Assam. The Europeans are all Government officials, tea planters, missionaries or persons engaged in commerce and industry. The Anglo-Indians also are engaged generally in Government or companies' service or on the railways; and we have no submerged portion of the community such as is found in the great cities.

The following table shows the distribution in districts:—

Districts containing Europeans and Anglo-Indians numbering—

Below 20.	20—50.	100—300	300—500.	600—700.
Balipara	Manipur	Nowgong	Cachar	Lakhimpur.
Garo Hills	Naga Hills	Kamrup	Sylhet	Khasi and Jaintia Hills.
	Sadiya			
	Lushai Hills	Darrang	Sibsagar	
	Goalpara			

There is nothing special to be noted in the age figures in the Table. The age groups have been designed for both sections to give certain information required by the Military Department; while for Anglo-Indians the groups adopted for the general

population have also been shown, in accordance with the wish of the Sanitary Department. As might be expected for persons who are for the most part but sojourners in the land, the European males number double of the females, and children are few compared with the adults, because they are sent to Europe or to other parts of India for education. With Anglo-Indians the proportions of the sexes approach more closely and children are in reasonable numbers. The total numbers are too small however, for any deductions to be made as to variation in age distribution and as to fertility.

Changes in social structure.

143. I have received communications from several correspondents as to the trend of the caste system and the influence on it of modern thought. The general conclusion is that culture and wealth are the only ladders by which the castes on the ground floor may hope to climb to an upper storey; and when they have climbed they do not attain to religious equality or to commensality. Their promotion is restricted to their being allowed to sit down in presence of the exalted ones and to converse with them. This of course applies also to members of other religions when mixing with Hindus. The difference is that the Muhammadan or Christian will be at ease and will behave and be treated as an equal in conversation with his Hindu friends; while the Hindu of lower caste, even when highly educated, will still be in a subconscious state of sitting on the edge of the chair in presence of a man of higher caste.

Signs of change in the practices of endogamy, exogamy, and hypergamy can hardly be noticed among the Hindu castes, and only isolated cases of departure from previous practice have been brought to notice. A writer has stated that caste tribunals in India are losing their value, and that their edicts of excommunication are treated with contempt in some castes, the excommunicated persons and their friends forming a separate sub-section.*

The criticism hardly applies to Assam as yet. In some places the power of excommunication as a weapon has been demonstrated and revived by the non-co-operation movement as a punishment not for breaking caste laws, but for disagreement from the political views of a majority or of a dominant and clamant minority.

No tendency to the formation of new castes by separation of functional sub-castes is visible. Rather is there a general tightening up of the caste bond within the ranks of each of the lower-placed castes, manifesting itself in the adoption of new names and a general desire to appear as cultivators rather than as followers of any of the other traditional pursuits. These remarks, of course, do not apply to the unorthodox and the more unselfish of the educated classes.

Among Animist tribes conversion to Hinduism as in previous years results in the giving up of some old practices and the retaining of others. Kacharis who enlist in the Assam Rifles or Armed Reserve Police naturally find it improves their status with their fellow sepoys—largely Gurkhas—to be Hindus. They often abandon old practices such as the eating of pig's flesh and drinking of beer, but not others.

The effect of conversions to Christianity has been, in some cases, to react on the polity as well on the individual. And this reaction is not always for the better. For instance among the Ao Nagas, where the education of girls is carried on by the American Baptist Mission, the conservative members of the tribe complain that an educated girl will not work in the fields and that consequent idling in the village has increased immorality. Again, Mr. Mills, Subdivisional Officer of Mokokchung, reports that the Mission teachings tend to undermine the structure of the tribe. Each Ao village is governed by a council of elders, some of whose functions are religious, and Christians often refuse to serve on the councils. In time the tribe may thus be left without a proper social organization.

Among the Semas other causes are tending against the cohesion of the village and the authority of the chief. These causes are the cessation of warfare and the annexation of a large area since the last census. The former cause detracts from the chiefs' authority, which was formerly necessary for purposes of defence. The latter cause limits the opportunities of chiefs' sons to migrate and found separate villages, and thus leads to intrigues among the brothers and consequent dissolution of authority.

* M. Subraya Kamath—The Census of India, 1911, 138.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Castes classified according to their traditional occupation.

Occupation and caste.	Strength (000's omitted).	Occupation and caste.	Strength (000's omitted).
1	2	1	2
ASSAM TOTAL POPULATION ...	7,990 *1,000*	8. BARDS AND ASTEOLOGERS ...	14
		Grahabipra	*1·7*
1. LAND-HOLDERS	34		
Rajput	*4·3*	9. WRITERS	122
2. CULTIVATORS (INCLUDING GROWERS OF SPECIAL PRODUCTS).	1,382 *172·9*	Kayastha	*15·2*
		10. MUSICIANS, SINGERS, DANCERS, MIMES AND JUGGLERS—ALL CASTES.	16 *2·0*
Ahom	216		
Bhuiya	54	11. TRADERS AND PEDLARS	71
Chutiya	96		*8·8*
Ghasi	21		
Gond	52	Vaisya Shaha	46
		Vaisya	25
Kalita	235		
Kewat	100	12. BARBERS	33
Koch	229	Napit	*4·1*
Kurmi	28		
Mahisya	70	13. WASHERMEN	33
		Dhoba	*4·2*
Mahisya Das	31		
Mali or Malakar	47	14. WEAVERS, CARDERS AND DYERS ...	267
Rajbansi	92		*33·4*
Sut	21		
Others	90	Pan or Panika	29
		Tanti	77
3. LABOURERS	64	Yogi	161
	8·1		
Bauri	45	15. CARPENTERS	20
Others	19	Sutradhar	*2·5*
4. FOREST AND HILL TRIBES ...	1,978 *247·6*	16. POTTERS	44 *5·6*
Bhumij	47	Kumhar	30
Garo	162	Others (Hira)	14
Kachari	207		
Khasi	124	17. BLACK SMITHS	61
Kshattriya	347		*7·7*
Kuki	73	Kamar	47
Lalung	41	Others (Lohar)	14
Loi	23		
Lushai	61	18. CONFECTIONERS AND GRAIN PARCHERS	8
Mech	80		*1·0*
Mikir	112	19. OIL PRESSERS	40
Miri	69	Teli or Tili	*5·0*
Munda	128		
Naga	221	20. LEATHER WORKERS	72
Oraon	42		*9·0*
Rabha	70	Chamar	52
Santal	84	Muchi	20
Synteng	33		
Others	54	21. BASKET-MAKERS AND MAT-MAKERS ...	42 *5·2*
5. GRAZIERS AND DAIRYMEN ...	58		
Goala	*7·2*	Dom	25
		Turi	17
6. FISHERMEN AND BOATMEN ...	360 *45·0*	22. EARTH, SALT, ETC., WORKERS AND QUARRIERS—ALL CASTES.	14 *1·8*
Kaibartta	92	23. DOMESTIC SERVANTS	166
Nadiyal	18	Sudra	*20·8*
Namasudra	167		
Patni	45	24. SWEEPERS	2
Mahimal	22	Bhuinmali	*0·3*
Others	16	25. OTHERS	2,920 *366·5*
7. PRIESTS AND DEVOTEES	169 *21·1*	Indian Christian	129
		Sheik	2,066
Brahman	160	Minor and unclassified castes ...	725
Others	9		

Note.—The figures italicised below the group totals show the proportion per mille of the total population represented by the group.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Variation in caste, tribe, etc., since 1881.

Caste, tribe or race.	Persons (000's omitted).					Percentage of variation (increase +, decrease −).				
	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911-1921.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	Percentage of net variation, 1881-1921.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Ahom	216	197	178	154	179	+9·3	+10·9	+15·9	−14·4	+20·1
Bauri	45	44	42	32	10	+2·9	+3·5	+32·1	+224·3	+356·1
Bhuiya	54	67	50	32	5	−18·5	+34·7	+53·8	+516·8	+941·7
Bhumij	47	39	34	21	25	+21·4	+12·9	+66·0	−18·9	+84·4
Brahman ...	160	131	109	97	119	+21·6	+20·0	+12·3	−18·5	+34·1
Chamar	53	54	44	18	1	−3·4	+24·2	+144·3	+1,096·0	+6,041·7
Chutiya	96	89	86	88	60	+8·1	+3·1	−1·7	+45·6	+59·4
Dhoba	33	34	34	38	35	−1·1	+0·7	−11·5	+7·9	−5·0
Dom	25	30	*Vide* Nadiyal			−16·7	...	...	...	...
Garo	162	144	128	120	112	+12·2	+12·7	+6·9	+6·8	+44·4
Ghasi	21	15	13	9	...	+41·9	+18·8	+38·7	...	...
Goala	58	42	38	31	13	+36·6	+10·3	+23·1	+138·8	+343·2
Gond	52	52	4	4	...	+0·6	+1,055·3	+24·2	...	...
Grahabipra (Ganak) ...	14	21	21	24	24	−35·4	+4·6	−13·5	−0·7	−42·0
Indian Christian ...	129	64	34	15	5	+101·9	+90·0	+127·7	+170·2	+2,259·5
Kachari... ...	223	230	240	243	286	−3·1	−4·1	−1·4	−15·0	−22·1
Kaibartta ...	92	21	85	67	37	+349·7	−75·4	+25·7	+81·1	+146·6
Kalita..... ...	235	222	203	223	254	+5·8	+9·3	−8·8	−12·3	−7·5
Kamar	47	43	34	30	12	+9·6	+28·3	+13·8	+153·4	+305·5
Kayastha ...	122	82	87	92	186	+48·5	−5·7	−5·9	−50·2	−34·4
Kewat	100	95	64	91	104	+5·6	+47·7	−29·6	−12·6	−4·1
Khasi	124	121	112	120	107	+2·6	+8·3	−7·3	+12·1	+15·5
Koch	229	242	223	261	259	−5·3	+8·5	−14·4	+1·3	−8·2
Kshattriya ...	347	251	231	72	40	+38·3	+8·6	+222·3	+76·9	+757·0
Kuki	73	77	56	19	11	−6·0	+38·3	+197·1	+73·8	+571·4
Kumhar	30	28	27	25	18	+6·5	+4·1	+5·3	+41·0	+64·6
Kurmi	28	25	21	13	13	+14·1	+17·9	+65·3	+0·4	+122·3
Lalung	41	39	36	52	48	+4·6	+10·4	−32·3	+10·0	−13·9
Loi	23	18	4	...	...	+26·6	+402·2	...	...	...
Lushai	61	80	78	...	...	−24·0	+2·5	+30,441·2	...	...
Mahimal	22	77	37	58	...	−71·0	+111·7	−37·1	...	...
Mahishya ...	70	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, Das ...	31	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Malakar (Mali) ...	47	14	8	1	49	+227·4	+80·9	+616·7	−97·8	−4·2
Mech	81	95	75	70	58	−14·8	+26·2	+6·7	+21·3	+39·2

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II—*concluded.*

Variation in caste, tribe, etc., since 1881—concluded.

Caste, tribe or race.	Persons (000's omitted).					Percentage of variation (increase +, decrease —).				
	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911-1921.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	Percentge of net variation, 1881-1921.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Mikir	112	105	87	95	78	+6·2	+20·3	—7·9	+21·9	+43·5
Miri ...	69	58	47	37	26	+18·9	+23·7	+24·8	+46·0	+168·1
Muchi ...	20	14	14	10	13	+43·6	—1·5	+34·7	—18·9	+54·5
Munda ...	128	91	81	46	16	+46·2	+13·1	+74·5	+149·2	+700·8
Nadiyal ...	18	68	195	205	128	—73·1	+7·8	—4·9	—1·4	—65·7
Dom ...	25	30				—16·7				
Naga ...	221	220	162	102	105	+·03	+35·9	+58·6	—2·5	+110·8
Namasudra ...	167	173	170	181	174	—3·6	+1·9	—6·1	+4·0	—4·0
Napit ...	33	37	32	33	31	—11·1	+14·1	—2·1	+5·6	+4·9
Oraon ...	42	29	24	18	...	+47·7	+19·8	+34·5	...	...
Pan (Panika) ...	29	18	8	20	...	+60·4	+128·4	—60·9	...	...
Patni ...	45	111	...	...	80	—59·4	...	...	...	— 43·
Rabha ...	70	79	74	76	56	—10·8	+6·2	—2·2	+28·8	+24·8
Rajbansi ...	92	133	120	124	106	—31·2	+10·8	—2·9	+16·3	—13·9
Rajput ...	34	27	22	8	11	+25·3	+25·5	+171·6	—24·3	+223·4
Santal ...	84	59	78	23	7	+42·7	—24·0	+234·5	+213·9	+1,037·4
Saha	46	57	54	52	59	—19·5	+4·3	+4·8	—11·4	—22·0
Sheikh	2,066	1,770	1,494	1,382	...	+16·8	+18·5	+8·1	...	...
Sudra	166	119	46	7	...	+40·4	+155·8	+555·4	...	...
Sut	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sutradhar ...	20	16	17	17	14	+26·9	—8·3	+4·2	+15·5	+40·0
Synteng	33	42	48	52	48	—21·9	—12·1	—7·4	+8·2	+31·2
Tanti	76	41	22	11	7	+85·4	+89·9	+97·4	+68·4	+1,070·1
Teli or Tili ...	40	39	39	36	20	+2·1	—0·1	+8·9	+75·9	+95·3
Turi	16	17	12	8	...	—·004	+32·9	+50·7	...	...
Vaishya	25	4	3	4	2	+536·9	+12·0	—6·1	+131·4	+1,450·6
Yogi	161	169	161	178	173	—4·5	+4·9	—9·3	+2·9	—6·5

NOTE.—Brahman 1911 includes Agradani and Barna Brahman.
Dhoba 1901 and 1891 includes Dhobi.
Bhuiya 1901 includes Bhuinhar.
Chuiya ,, ,, Deori.
Yogi 1881 includes Katani.
Kachari 1881 includes Sarania and 1921 includes Sonwal.
Khasi 1881, 1891 includes Dyko and Lyngam.
Koch 1881, 1891, 1901 includes Mahaliya.
,, 1881 ,, ,, Madahi.
Kshattriya 1901, 1891, includes Khatri.
Lushai 1901, 1891 includes Poi.
Nadiyal 1901 and 1891 includes Patni.
Rabha 1901 to 1881 includes Totla.
Rajbansi 1921 includes Paliya.
Saha 1921 to 1881 includes Sunri.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Some indigenous Castes and tribes of Assam proper. (See *paragraph* 139).

	Kamrup.			Darrang.			Nowgong.			Sibsagar.			Lakhimpur.			Total.		
	1911.	1921.	+ or —	1911.	1921.	+ or —	1911.	1921.	+ or —	1911.	1921.	+ or —.	1911.	1921.	+ or —.	1911.	1921.	+ or —.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Abor ...	...	...	...	...	1	+1	...	...	...	3	...	−3	853	436	−417	856	437	−419
Ahom ...	523	525	+2	3,575	4,080	+505	3,759	4,034	+275	129,350	139,241	+9,891	60,080	62,500	+2,420	197,287	210,380	+13,093
Boria ...	1,338	485	−853	4,143	494	−3,649	8,906	64	−8,842	5,773	258	−5 515	1,277	17	−1.260	21,437	1,318	−20,119
Brahman ...	26,159	35,291	+9,132	10,784	17,093	+6 309	6,619	7,960	+1,341	17,268	20,672	+3,404	5,091	6,523	+1.432	65,921	87,539	+21,618
Chutiya ...	825	670	−155	3,541	3,369	−172	7,015	7,076	+61	57,444	61,511	+4,067	19,009	22,016	+3 007	87,834	94,642	+6,808
Dafla ...	...	...	...	519	263	−256	...	...	...	7	...	−7	458	493	+40	984	761	−223
Dom ...	322	624	+302	3,689	2,809	−880	570	531	−39	10,841	6,442	−4,399	8,317	8,150	−167	23,739	18,556	−5,183
Grahabipra	6,586	2,204	−4,362	5,919	4,309	−1,610	313	235	−78	2,507	2,266	−241	312	251	−61	15,637	9,285	−6 352
Garo ...	4,769	5,354	+585	450	368	−82	464	1,135	+671	479	76	−403	168	86	−82	6,330	7,019	+689
Hira ...	5,691	4,828	−863	1,405	1,371	−34	6,822	6,053	−769	11	13	+2	2	...	−2	13,931	12,265	−1,666
Kachari ...	95,981	104,018	+8,037	57,713	52,560	−5.153	13,781	12,965	−816	16,952	12,550	−4,402	27,953	10,660	−17,293	212,380	192,753	−19,627
Kaibartta ...	18,060	23,150	+5.090	167	7,967	+7.800	118	19,150	+19.032	579	17,091	+16 512	985	9,563	+8 578	19,909	76,921	+57,012
Kalita ...	130,427	137,042	+6,615	16,276	17,315	+1,039	16,948	18,362	+1,414	41,138	42,744	+1,606	5,524	7,489	+1,965	210,313	222,952	+12,639
Kayastha ...	4,991	6,024	+1,033	2,020	2,447	+427	2,714	3,333	+619	5,585	6,283	+698	2,551	3,629	+1,078	17,861	21,716	+3,855
Kewat ...	34,630	34,163	−467	13,451	15,214	+1,763	15,176	15,347	+171	25,478	27,898	+2,420	3,850	5,379	+1,529	92,585	98,001	+5,416
Khamti ...	...	...	...	46	...	−46	...	...	...	113	3	−110	1,632	1,388	−304	1,851	1,391	−460
Koch ...	103,861	98,791	−5,070	42,738	40,544	−2,194	37,046	39,443	+2,397	31,174	33,552	+2,378	7,344	8,487	+1,143	222,163	220,817	−1,346
Lalung ...	1,759	1,550	−209	9	...	−9	32,791	35,210	+2.419	183	4	−179	1,081	1,021	−60	35,823	37,785	+1,962
Mech ...	194	38	−156	35	27	−8	3	3	...	11	127	+116	112	19	−93	355	214	−141
Mikir ...	11,342	10,892	−450	3,213	3,379	+166	47,327	50,362	+3.035	25,009	28,331	+3.322	7	13	+ 6	86,898	92,977	+6,079
Miri ...	...	...	...	4,568	4,890	+322	...	1,315	+1.315	22,495	27,400	+4.915	30,421	30,048	−376	57,477	63,653	+6,176
Mishmi ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	271	51	−220	271	51	−220
Mukhi ...	2,705	2,684	−21	2	...	−2	...	2	+2	2	1	−1	...	2	+2	2,709	2,689	−20
Nadiyal ...	11,770	2,784	−8.986	7,833	1,435	−6 393	20,917	3,219	−17,698	17,904	8,506	−9 398	8,062	1,954	−6,108	66,486	17,898	−48,588
Namasudra	11,112	12,174	+1,062	146	69	−77	77	4,365	+4,288	150	195	+45	80	100	+20	11,565	16,903	+5,338
Nat ...	958	619	−339	254	240	−14	760	795	+35	1,918	3,074	+1,156	135	230	+95	4,025	4,958	+933
Phakial ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	496	616	+120	496	616	+120
Rabha ...	17,798	19,914	+2.116	12,865	9,454	−3.411	88	200	+112	63	102	+39	95	125	+30	30,909	29,795	−1,114
Rajbansi ...	3,087	4,659	+1,572	..	151	+151	44	478	+434	83	117	+34	236	864	+628	3,450	6,269	+2.819
Saloi ...	8,224	8,657	+433	860	868	+8	35	...	−35	2	...	−2	4	3	−1	9,125	9,528	+403
Saha, Sunri	16,268	17,001	+733	694	755	+61	696	536	−160	143	273	+130	329	173	−156	18,130	18,738	+608
Singpho ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	454	163	−291	454	163	−291
Sonwal ...	...	...	...	...	9	+9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15,293	+15,293	...	15,302	+15,302
Sut ..	...	829	+829	...	3,948	+3 948	...	8,916	+8.916	...	6,269	+6 269	...	1,429	+1,429	...	21,391	+21,391
Total ...	519,380	534,990	+15,610	196,915	195,429	−1,486	222,989	241,089	+18,100	412,655	444,999	+32 344	187,252	199,176	+11,924	1,539,191	1,615,683	+76,492

CHAPTER XII.

OCCUPATION.

(*i*) *The occupations of the people.*

Scope of enquiry.

144. In point of practical interest perhaps the most useful information collected at the census is that relating to the means of subsistence of the people and the different kinds of industry. It was contemplated at the time of this census that a wide scope should be given to the discussion of subjects connected with the industrial and economic conditions of the country and the people. Accordingly special enquiries, additional to the ordinary census and on a somewhat extensive scale, were made by District Officers and their subordinates deputed for the work. Parts of the sequent reports have been used in the earlier chapters of this volume and some parts I have brought into the present chapter. A later decision communicated by the Census Commissioner laid down the instruction that, as most of the subjects of this nature had been dealt with by experts and other workers able to command fuller and more accurate information than it was possible for the Census to obtain, our aim should be to deal with the personnel and man power of the various industries and occupations rather than to embody in the census reports sketchy and incomplete notes on subjects treated more elaborately by experts elsewhere. In economic enquiry however little work appears to have been done in Assam hitherto, and I have therefore considered that it will be of some value to make use of the store of information collected by the District Officers and to analyse parts of it, as far as space and time allow, so that something will remain on record for comparison and serve if necessary as a basis for more elaborate enquiries. The information in the reports bearing on tea coolies' family budgets has already been used by the recent Labour Enquiry Committee, which also enquired generally into labour conditions on the gardens : it will thus only be necessary for me to touch shortly on tea-garden labour, for purposes of comparison with the economic conditions outside the gardens.

Statistical tables.

145. The statistics of the occupations and industries of the people are contained in the following tables :—

Imperial Tables	...	...	XVII.—Which is divided into two parts Part A— a provincial summary, showing details for British territory and Manipur State of all workers by sex and of dependants for both sexes, and Part B—similar details for each district.
			XVIII.—Subsidiary occupations of agriculturists.
			XX.—Occupation by religion.
			XXI.—Occupation by selected castes, tribes and races.
			XXII.—Industrial Statistics, in four parts : establishments, distribution by districts, classification by class of owner or manager and details of power used.
Provincial Tables	...	...	III.—Occupations of persons literate in English.
			V.—Cottage industries (number of spinning wheels, handlooms, blacksmithies, brass-smithies, dairies, etc.).

Table XIX of the Imperial series (mixed occupations) has not been compiled for Assam.

There are eight subsidiary occupational tables at the end of this chapter. Of these the first six show proportional or actual figures, in abbreviated form, derived from the Imperial Tables, No. VII compares statistics for the last three censuses in selected cases and No. VIII gives particulars of railway and postal and telegraph employees, derived from special returns submitted by the departments. Subsidiary Tables IX to XIII relate to industries and are prepared from Imperial Table XXII.

143. There are special difficulties in eliciting complete and accurate information regarding occupation and means of subsistence. The instruction to the enumerators was :—

Census questions and accuracy.

Column 9 (*Principal occupation of actual workers*).—Enter the principal means of livelihood of all persons who actually do work or carry on business, whether personally or by means of servants, or who live on house-rent, pension, etc. Enter the exact occupation and avoid vague terms such as "service" or "writing" or "labour". For example, in the case of labour, say whether in the fields, or in a coal mine, or jute factory, or cotton mill or lac factory, or earth-work, etc. In the case of agriculture distinguish between persons who receive rent and those who pay rent. If a person makes the articles he sells he should be entered as "maker and seller" of them. Women and children who work at any occupation which helps to augment the family income must be entered in column 9 under that occupation and not in column 11. Column 9 will be blank for dependants.

This was supplemented by more detailed and locally applicable directions in the Supervisors' books of instruction and in the Census Code, but great trouble was experienced nevertheless in large classes of entry as well as in individual cases. For instance, in common language persons may be called servants, labourers, clerks, traders and so forth, but for the census greater detail is needed ; and it is difficult to impress this on the enumerators and the public. The usual meaning of some vernacular terms also varies in different localities. By constant supervision and check of enumerators' work however, and by classification of the vague entries in the abstraction offices (by comparison of the other entries for the person or by reference back to the district) it has been possible to reduce the number under order 53—Insufficiently described occupations—from 98,000 in 1911 to 46,000 at the present census. The number of labourers whose kind of labour is unknown is only about 7,600 ; but the contractors and business men (15,000) and clerks, cashiers and shop employees insufficiently described (20,000) are inconveniently numerous. Again, there are special difficulties in making the record of agricultural occupations, for it is necessary to distinguish landlords from agents or managers and from actual cultivators, and these again from farm servants and field labourers. All these classes overlap, and the distinction of landlords, living on rent, from ordinary cultivators is sometimes difficult in parts where the settlement is permanent but holdings are small, *e.g.*, in Sylhet. For Table XVIII the headings prescribed by the Government of India made it necessary to distinguish three main classes of agriculturists—rent-receivers, rent-payers, and farm servants or field labourers. This gave rise to great trouble at enumeration time, since a cultivator holding directly under the Government naturally could not see why his land-revenue payment should be regarded as rent. The use of the term rent-payer was considered at the time to be the best method of separating the numbers of those who actually hold and cultivate from those on the one hand who merely live on rent and from those on the other who are merely hired workers on the land. In the Administrative Report, in agreement with most District Officers, I have recommended that at the next census other definitions or nomenclature should be adopted for the various classes of agriculturists.

Whatever words are used, however, I fear that there will always be confusion and we can only say that the total of sub-order 1(*a*)—ordinary cultivation—including all the groups mentioned above, makes any approach to accuracy : the totals of its subdivisions are certainly doubtful.

Another source of difficulty was the entry for women and children who work and augment the family income ; the supplementary instruction about this was that if they worked regularly they should be put down in the workers' column, but if only occasionally, as dependants. It is obvious that for estimation of the regularity of the work of small boys acting as cowherds or wives helping their husbands in cultivation or in selling articles, we are dependent ultimately on the intelligence of the enumerator, although aided in many cases by the advice and supervision of the higher staff. The error from this cause cannot be estimated, and in any case is not serious, for those, entered as actual workers certainly do *some* work, however little.

The social-betterment factor enters also into the record of occupation, as it does into those of religion, caste and language : the general tendency to adopt agriculture as a more respectable occupation than the actual principal one is reflected by a heavy fall in the number of fishermen and boatmen. Partly from this cause also the number of weavers has fallen, not because weaving is disreputable but because it is associated in certain cases as a traditional occupation with a caste-name which is sought to be discarded : for instance Hindu professional weavers have always been known in certain districts as Jugis and this caste has now adopted the name Yogi. If cultivation is returned instead of weaving as the occupation, it will probably seem to many that the transformation is more complete. The same applies to many fisher-

men who have changed their caste names. Moreover many men who work at agricultural or other kinds of labour for the greater part of their subsistence are inclined to grasp at respectability by returning themselves as ordinary cultivators even if they hold only a small vegetable patch attached to thehomestead.

The greatest inaccuracy of all appears probably in the record of subsidiary occupation, column 10 of the general schedule, for this is least liable to check by the higher staff and the enumerator has to judge possibly which of several is the most important of the secondary occupations of the worker and whether it is remunerative or productive enough to be regarded as a census occupation at all.

The instruction for this column was as follows :—

Column 10 (*Subsidiary occupation of actual workers*).—Enter here any occupation which actual workers pursue at any time of the year in addition to their principal occupation. Thus if a person lives principally by his earnings as a boatman, but partly also by fishing, the word "boatman" will be entered in column 9 and "fisherman" in column 10. If an actual worker has no additional occupation, the column will be left blank. This column will be blank for dependants.

The entry of subsidiary occupation enables us to follow to some extent the movement of those who are abandoning, or showing themselves as having abandoned, their traditional occupation for cultivation, but on the whole its utility appears doubtful and not commensurate with the labour involved in the collection and compilation of the statistics.

Finally, column 11 (for dependants) caused a certain amount of trouble. The directions to enumerators were clear :—

Column 11 (*Means of subsistence of dependants*).—For children and women and old or infirm persons who do not work either personally or by means of servants, enter the principal occupation of the person who supports them. This column will be blank for actual workers.

The object of the entry is clear : to obtain the number of persons supported by each occupation, apart from the workers. But many blanks, entries of the word 'dependant' and of the relationship to the supporter were found. A certain number of Europeans, too lazy to read the instructions on their household schedules, were offenders in this respect. Such entries were corrected either at inspection of the draft schedules before the final enumeration or at compilation by reference to the other entries for the house in the original papers.

A few comic entries as usual graced the schedules. 'Drinks its mother's milk' 'plays in the mud', 'thriving', occurred again, generally entered in the column for actual workers' principal occupation. One tea-planter put down his occupation as bridge-playing : him the abstraction office were inclined to tabulate as an engineer, presumably because they thought he was playing at building bridges. A touch of pathos was added by an American visitor who described his calling as 'unhappily none' Whether he was actually out of work was not discovered ; in the census he has merely swelled the ranks of the 'insufficiently described.'

On the whole, subject to the remarks I have made above about the cultivating groups and fishermen, boatmen, weavers and one or two minor groups, I believe that the constant supervision in the districts and the care taken in classification at the Central Office at Gauhati has resulted in a fairly accurate set of statistics.

The industrial census was taken separately from the main census ; I have noted as to the accuracy of its results in paragraph 169 below.

Classification.

147. The system of classification adopted is that drawn up by M. Bertillon and recommended by the International Statistical Institute, but modified for India as at the last census and with a few further changes made to provide for present conditions. Occupations are divided into four main classes and these into twelve sub-classes. These are the same as those of 1911. I reproduce them here for reference.

Class.	Sub-Class.
A.—Production of raw materials ...	I.—Exploitation of animals and vegetation. II.—Exploitation of minerals.
B.—Preparation and supply of material substances.	III.—Industry. IV.—Transport. V.—Trade.
C.—Public administration and liberal arts ...	VI.—Public force. VII.—Public Administration. VIII.—Professions and liberal arts.
D.—Miscellaneous.	IX.—Persons living on their incomes. X.—Domestic service. XI.—Insufficiently described occupations. XII.—Unproductive.

The sub-classes are divided into 55 orders. Only slight alterations have been made from the orders of 1911 to admit of new heads ' transport by air ' and ' air force,' which do not at present affect Assam, and to find room for ' other unclassified unproductive industries,' which did not appear at the first census.

The 56 orders are subdivided into 191 groups. The number of groups has been increased by 22 from the number of 1911. This is due to the expansion of certain of the old groups so as to show in detail important categories which were previously combined (such as different kinds of textile workers, mechanical transport drivers, beggars, prostitutes), and to the correction of imperfect classification.

The 191 groups are standardized for India. For Assam we have made a few further subdivisions to show occupations of local interest, *e.g.*, tea, limestone quarries, *sitalpati*-making, rearing of different kinds of silkworm. These sub-groups have been shown in the main tables under their original orders but with distinguishing letters after them in brackets.

The orders may be seen in Subsidiary Table I but for details of all the groups reference must be made to the original table (Imperial XVII).

In the preceding paragraph I have noted some of the difficulties occurring in the occupation record at enumeration. Although many of these were surmounted by the scrutiny of superior officers and by allowing a good deal of detail to be entered for description of doubtful and disputed occupations, the processes of sorting and compilation presented further difficulties. In some cases double entries such as ' *eri* and cotton weaver ', ' jute and lac seller ', were found : in such cases the first entry was taken to be that of the principal occupation. The detailed and doubtful entries had to be assigned to standard groups. For the classification of agricultural entries we had lists of the vernacular terms in common use in each district. Even so, the categories of farm servants and field labourers are confused in many cases ; the value of the distinction (which was not made at the last census) is doubtful, especially in view of the inaccuracy. Much care was also needed in the classification of public servants and professional men. Separate groups are prescribed for the various specialists together with their subordinates, while there is a general group (161) for all servants of the State engaged in ordinary administrative duties and another group for village officials. Thus a Governor, a magistrate, a clerk or a chaprasi employed in a district officer's establishment, has to be entered in this group, while a forest officer, his clerks and guards, etc., come under ' pasture and agriculture', and an engineer and a doctor again under different groups, even if they are serving Government. Again mandals were classified, as in 1911, as village officials, following the practicefor patwaris in Upper India, but kanungoes were put down under agriculture as ' agents or managers of landed estates.'

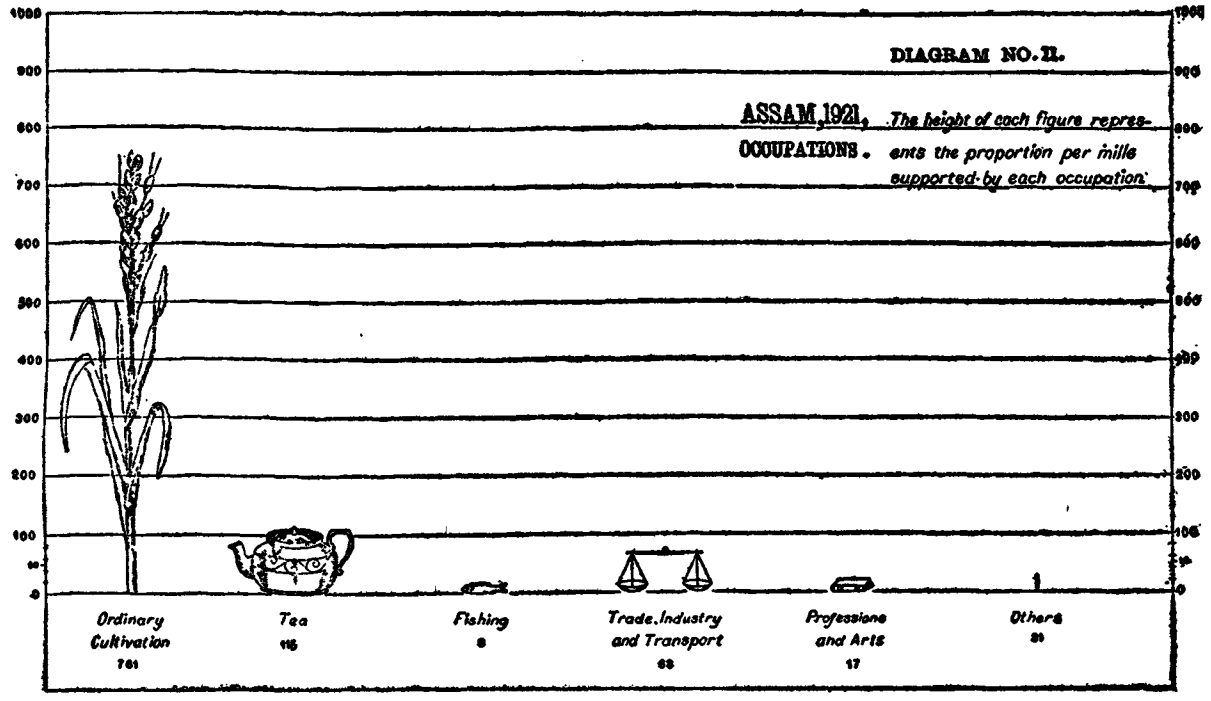
All classification was done under the direct supervision of the Deputy Superintendent at the Gauhati Central office, with the help of the general index supplied by the Census Commissioner, supplemented by local instructions and the vernacular lists used at last census. Group numbers were assigned only by the Chief Inspector or the Deputy Superintendent, and the Provincial Superintendent's orders were taken in all cases of doubt. It is evident that to obtain even fairly accurate figures for our main occupation table (XVII), which runs into 135 pages, very careful consideration of rulings as to terms and very close scrutiny of the sorters' tickets and compilation registers were necessary on the part of those responsible. In the end, the number of doubtful cases was reduced to a minimum and the final classification, which represents the normal functional distribution in the province, is, I believe, reasonably accurate in its main characteristics.

Occupational—distribution—general.

148. In spite of the large number of occupations tabulated, most of them are followed by very small proportions of the people. Nearly 89 per cent. of the whole population are supported by some form of agricultural or pastoral pursuit, more than three-fourths being returned as ordinary cultivators.

The ordinary rectangular or linear diagrams in which it has been customary to display the proportions in the main classes and sub-classes convey little to the reader on account of the minute space falling to each other sub-class when compared with agriculture in Assam. I have therefore given in diagram No. 11 the numbers supported by only a few of the main heads of occupation. These correspond, though not exactly, with the standard classification ; ordinary cultivation, tea and fishing

cover most of class A, the next two items are classes B and C, while 'others' includes class D (miscellaneous occupations) and a small part of class A (mines, pasture, forestry).



Although tea and the tea industry spring to the mind at once when Assam is mentioned, it will be noticed that tea is really the support of only a little more than one-seventh of the number dependent on ordinary agriculture, although ahead of all other occupations in the province.

Fishing is recorded as the principal means of support of less than 1 per cent. of the people, but owing to social and caste movements this figure is lower than the actual.

The 68 per mille of the next class is divided roughly into 24 under industry, 10 under transport and 34 per mille under trade of all kinds. The chief item under the arts and professions is religion, where priesthood and similar callings account for nearly half the total; this is followed by public instruction, public force and administration, which in the diagram have been included with the professions.

Under 'public force' there is a decrease in the actual as well as in the proportional figures, for the increase in military police (Assam Rifles) by no means makes up for the decrease under 'Army' due to removal of regular regiments from the province. A certain number of chaukidars or village watchmen described themselves as cultivators, thus making a further deficit in the public force head.

Medicine accounts for only 1·6 and law for less than one per mille of the population, although these headings include all sorts of medical practioners, compounders, dressers, clerks and servants.

In the 31 per mille of 'others' we have 21 under miscellaneous, 9 engaged in forestry, pasture and special agriculture other than tea, and only about 1·3 per mille supported by coal-mining and oil and limestone extraction.

It is interesting to note from Provincial Table III the occupations of those literate in English: of some 46,400 actual workers, nearly 99 per cent. are males. Class I accounts for 24,000, of whom more than half are ordinary cultivators; over 12,000 are engaged in public administration and professions, class III; and only 8,000 fall under class II, trade, industry and transport.

Proportions of workers and dependants.

149. In 1911, 44 per cent. of the population of the province were actual workers. The number has risen in 1921 and we find that 46 per cent. are now recorded as actual workers and 54 per cent. as dependants. This does not appear to be due to any tendency to impress more women and children into labour to augment the family income, but to better enumeration in the Naga Hills and Manipur. Women who work in the fields have been much more carefully entered in these two districts, and the result is that the Hills proportion of workers to dependants has been reversed at the present census, and the provincial

proportion is also affected. Details of the proportions are shown by districts in Subsidiary Table III and the following table summarises the figures for the province and the natural divisions.

Proportion per cent. of dependants to total population supported by different occupations.

	Agriculture.	Industry (including mines).	Commerce (including transport).	Professions.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6
ASSAM	**55**	**39**	**50**	**63**	**40**
Brahmaputra Valley	50	38	44	61	35
Surma Valley	65	50	58	66	47
Hills	44	22	36	52	39

It will be noticed that the Hills division shows the least, and the Surma Valley the greatest, percentage of non-workers. The figures only confirm what is a matter of common knowledge : the average woman of the hills or the Brahmaputra Valley is much more generally a helper in cultivation work than is the woman of the Surma Valley. Moreover the greater number of tea gardens in the Brahmaputra Valley makes for a greater proportion of women and children workers. The proportion of dependants to workers in Goalpara and Kamrup, however, approaches much more closely to that of the Surma Valley than is the case for the central and upper districts of the Assam Valley.

(*ii*) *Agriculture and animals.*

Ordinary cultivation.

150. It has been remarked by various writers from time to time that although industrial development is needed in India, our key industry, which above all others cannot be neglected, is agriculture. Our statistics show that the population depending on agriculture is an ever-increasing one. The number supported by ordinary cultivation in Assam has risen by more than three-quarters of a million in the 10 years, the proportion being now 761 per mille against 754 in 1911. The increase is due to natural growth and to the influx of cultivating immigrants. The inset statement shows the variations for 3 census years of the chief groups falling under the sub-order, dependants and workers being combined. I have pointed out in paragraph 146 the difficulty of distinguishing the different classes of agriculturists falling under the head of ordinary cultivation ; so that the figures of the subdivisions must be accepted with caution.

Ordinary cultivation.	Population supported (000's omitted).		
	1921.	1911.	1901.
1. Income from rent ...	107	137	53
2. Ordinary cultivators ...	5,826	5,093	4,381
3. Farm servants and field labourers.	141	85	92

In any case the distinctions are not important in Assam, where nearly 96 per cent. of the ordinary agricultural population cultivate for themselves either directly under Government or as tenants under zamindars. The distinction of cultivators as ' revenue-payers ' and ' rent-payers ' was abolished at this census under orders of the Local Government, so that the progress of tenancy cannot be discussed. The class of landless labourers is small, and the census figures show that there has not been any great tendency of owners or cultivators to lose their land to creditors and become mere labourers. For the increase of 56,000 in the number of farm servants and field labourers is accounted for in great measure by the decrease (due to better classification) of ' labourers unspecified ', who were returned in considerable numbers in 1911. Probably a certain number of cultivators, especially in the Surma Valley, have lost their holdings owing to the bad times. Some who owned their land have lost it and become tenants or mere *adhidars* (*bargadars* or *adhidars*, as paying a produce rent, have been classed as ordinary tenant-cultivators). The number of these however is small in comparison with the whole agricultural population. And it is scarcely a matter of lamentation that the number of those who live principally on the rent of land has decreased by over 20 per cent. in the decade.

Conditions of agricultural labour.

151. Inasmuch as the cultivators generally work their own land, there is in most districts no regular class of farm servants or field labourers. Where extra help is needed by the cultivator it is generally obtained locally and is of a very temporary nature, as for instance when it is necessary to get the harvest reaped as soon as possible. In the Khasi Hills some 15,000 agricultural labourers have been recorded, but probably many of these are Nepalese who work at other things as well as cultivation.

A few thousands of people in Lower Assam supplement their produce by working on the lands of others. In Goalpara wages are usually from 6 to 8 annas a day, with food, and the wages are generally paid in cash. In Darrang men come from Kamrup for field work in the cold weather and get from 10 to 12 annas a day. In Sibsagar when labour is needed men can be had for 5 annas and women for 4 annas a day, but these are doubtless local people who do not wish to go far from their homes. In the Sadiya Frontier Tract Mishmis are employed at 12 annas a day for clearing jungle from the plains villagers' lands. Eight annas a day in cash or its equivalent in kind is the rate prevailing in the Garo Hills and this does not vary with the season.

The Surma Valley has a certain number of people of the *bhadralok* class who cultivate their holdings or small home farms by hired labour. In Sylhet, there are about 30,000 agricultural labourers (of whom only about 1,000 are recorded as regular farm servants). Wages vary according to the season. Some 4,000 labourers come every year to the Sunamganj subdivision at the harvesting season from the Bengal districts of Mymensingh, Dacca, Faridpur and Tippera and also from other parts of the Sylhet district. These live either in boats or in their employers' houses. They are paid sometimes in cash, from 12 annas to 1 rupee a day in April—May (spring crops) and November—December (winter rice crop), but more often they receive a part of the crop—from 10 to 15 per cent.—as remuneration. In the non-harvest months from 6 to 8 annas can be earned daily. In the Habiganj subdivision harvesters also come from the neighbouring Bengal districts; they are paid either in cash from 8 annas to 1 rupee a day, or in kind, getting 2 bundles of paddy out of every 20 reaped. The local labourers live either in their own homes or in their employers' houses while engaged in this work; the foreigners often live in boats When engaged as whole-time farm hands for longer periods, the labourers get from 5 to 8 rupees a month as well as food and at harvest time (both for jute and paddy cutting) as much as Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 monthly, with food. Moreover it is the custom for whole-time men to be paid in advance.

Tea.

152. Nearly 945,000 persons or 11·2 per cent. of the Assam population are supported by the growing of special products. About 97 per cent. of these belong to tea gardens The regular tea-garden labourers are foreigners to Assam. Their numbers and origin have already been discussed in Chapter III under Immigration, and the conditions under which they live and work have been dealt with by the Assam Labour Enquiry Committee of 1921-22: it is not necessary to enter into any detail here on this subject. The tea-garden population, of which the Brahmaputra Valley supports two-thirds and the Surma Valley the other one-third, has grown by about 35 per cent. since 1911. The increase would appear greater still but that the 1921 census was taken at the time of reduction of the labour force owing to depression in the tea industry.

In addition to their regular labourers, tea gardens in all districts get certain kinds of work done by outsiders. *Ex*-coolies settled near the gardens are generally available for part of the year, while people of other districts and hillmen come in the cold weather. In Goalpara, numbers of labourers drift in from the Duars and Upper Assam (but these often become regular workers on the few tea estates of the district), and Nepalis from Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling are employed in opening out land for new gardens. In Kamrup local Muhammadans and Hindus (Kalitas, Kewats and Kochs) work at ploughing and building, while Kacharis, Rabhas and other tribesmen take up hoeing. In Nowgong and Darrang, *ex*-coolies and Kacharis—many of whom come from Goalpara and Kamrup and live temporarily on the estates—do hoeing, jungle-cutting and thatching: these are usually paid weekly. On the Lakhimpur gardens, Nagas come down for jungle-cutting, Manipuris make bricks, and many Nunias come from Bihar for draining and earth work. These are housed free and paid on contract; they can earn from 6 to 8 annas each for a moderate day's work.

Men of Sylhet, generally Muhammadans, work at draining, trenching and building. They also visit the Brahmaputra Valley gardens and do thatching and building work.

Other special products.

153. Nearly 28,000 persons live by the cultivation of other special products. All but 3,000 of these were counted in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where the orange groves and potato cultivation doubtless account for the greater number. This group includes fruit, vegetable, betel and areca nut growers. The reason why the numbers are so small in all districts except the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is that in most cases the growers have been recorded as ordinary cultivators with the betel or other special product as a subsidiary occupation. The orange gardens on the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills are generally managed by local Wars, but at the plucking time, about January, many Sylhet men come up to work from the adjoining parts of the plains.

Jute is classed as an ordinary crop, and sugar-cane growing is generally subsidiary to rice-growing, so that persons cultivating them do not swell the 'special products' figures.

A few people are engaged in growing indigo in the Nowgong district; elsewhere it has been tried but is not yet a principal occupation. A little coffee is grown on the south of the Khasi Hills, but this also is subsidiary.

Subsidiary occupations of agriculturists.

154. Subsidiary Tables IV and V refer to subsidiary occupations. Nearly 29 per cent. of landlords, 12·5 per cent. of ordinary cultivators and 8 per cent. of agricultural labourers returned some subsidiary means of subsistence also. The returns show a great variety of entries. Many of them give merely a different form of agriculture as the second occupation: for instance many landlords or rent-receivers are also ordinary cultivators or rent-payers and so are many of the field labourers. Trade and general labour are the commonest forms of secondary occupation. As already explained, these returns are of little value: the entries receive the minimum of checking and are dependent largely on the whim of the enumerator. The number of cultivators owning to fishing and boating as a second occupation is less than 31,000 against 34,000 at the last census: it seems therefore that those fishermen who have adopted cultivation, or returned cultivation as their occupation, have often suppressed the fishing or boating entry altogether from both principal and subsidiary columns.

Agriculture was returned as a subsidiary occupation by only 29 per mille of the whole working population, the proportions being 25 for the Brahmaputra Valley, 45 for the Surma Valley and only 13 for the Hills. Over one-fifth (and in the Surma Valley nearly one-third) of those who live mainly by fishing appear to be cultivators also.

Raising of farm stock.

155. The number of cattle and buffalo breeders and herdsmen has decreased since 1911, though it is still more than double the number recorded in 1901. They are distributed over all districts, but principally in the Brahmaputra Valley and the Khasi Hills. Having regard to the large increase of Nepalese in the province, the decrease in the grazing figures is an indication of the way in which these immigrants are taking to cultivation in certain parts. There is a rise of about 4,000 in the closely connected group of milk and *ghee* sellers, but even this addition leaves the figures of the graziers and dairymen nearly stationary for the last 2 censuses.

	Persons supported (000's omitted).
1921	44
1911	47
1901	20

The last census of livestock in Assam, taken in 1920, gave the number of animals in the plains districts as 6,289,103, including young stock. Of these cattle were 4,885,000, buffaloes 587,000 and others (chiefly goats) 817,000.

Small animals.

156. This sub order (773 recorded workers and dependants) is small but of great interest, since it includes rearers of silkworms. Two hundred and eighty-three are concerned with birds and bees—nearly all connected with the honey produced in the Khasi Hills. Of the 490 recorded under silkworms, 483 depend on *eri* or *muga* worms and only 7 on *pat* worm rearing. All these figures are obviously too low: in many cases doubtless the occupation is subsidiary to one of the textile groups or to cultivation, while admission of breeding the *pat* worm is shunned as it has usually been regarded as degrading. Nearly 90 per cent. of the silkworm breeders (actual workers) are females and nearly all are Hindus or Animists. They are spread over the Brahmaputra Valley districts (except Lakhimpur) and Manipur, being most numerous in Sibsagar and Darrang.

(iii) *Fishing.*

157. Although with the rivers and *bils* of Assam, fishing is an industry of great importance to the food supply of the province in many parts, the number returned under fishing as a principal occupation has fallen by 40,000 since the last census. At the same time there is an increase of 20,000 under fish-dealers, but a decrease of 6,000 under boatmen, so that the net decrease recorded under these allied heads is about 26,000. The decrease occurs in both the Valleys and under both the main religions and reflects the general movement to avoid fishing as a degrading occupation. Since there is some fall even in the number of cultivators who have returned fishing as a subsidiary occupation it is evident that the traditional occupation has been suppressed entirely in many cases and cutlivation returned as the sole means of subsistence. In some cases, for instance among the Mirdas or Mahimals of Sunamganj, it is reported that the plying of boats has really been abandoned altogether.

Fishing: number supported.

	Actual (000's omitted).	Per mille of population.
1921	60	8
1911	100	14
1901	77	13

(iv) *Transport.*

158. The number supported by occupations under transport, 79,000 or 1 per cent. of the population of the province, has increased by only 3,000 in the decennium. Nearly three-fourths of the workers are Hindus. The proportions are nearly equal in the 3 natural divisions. Apart from railways and steamers, bullock carts are most used in the Brahmaputra Valley and boats in the Surma Valley. In the Hills porters swell the figures.

Transport—Persons supported (000's omitted).

Total	79
Road	42
Water	18
Rail	14
Post and telegraphs ...	5

Land transport.

159. Road transport workers have increased by 20 per cent. The order includes not only carters, porters, motor drivers, pack-animal drivers and *palki* bearers, but also labourers and others employed on roads and bridges. The last named class absorbs over 12,000—nearly half the number of workers in this order. The new group (no. 113) of persons connected with mechanically driven vehicles, contains only 86 persons, of whom 55 are workers; but another 449 persons—211 of them workers—are included under the allied new group (no. 183), private motor drivers and cleaners, while 162 persons are motor repairers in new group 90, under order "construction of means of transport."

Rail, posts and telegraphs.

The postal and telegraph figures have increased very slightly. Railways have more employees and dependants than in 1911, apparently owing to the working of new branch lines. Here also labourers employed on construction are included and account for more than the total increase: the rest of the railway staff shows a decrease of nearly 3,000.

Water Transport.

160. The decrease of 5,700 in this order is all under boat owners and boatmen, and as explained in paragraph 157 is accounted for by the association of boating with fishing and preference for cultivation instead of a watery occupation. It should be noted that the number returned as boat builders has increased from 348 to 568, although of course a great number of the boats produced by these and other carpenters are destined for private use and not for trade or hire.

Steamer lascars and firemen.

161. The number (censused in the province) in employ as ships' officers, seamen and firemen, with their dependants has increased from 3,000 to 3,700. The whole of this increase is in Sylhet, which is the only district from which men go to sea or river steamer service in any numbers. This calling formed a subject of the special economic enquiries. No census returns for Assam were received from ships at sea or in foreign ports and it is difficult to estimate the numbers so employed. The subdivisions of Habiganj and Sunamganj are said to supply 1,500 or more each and as the other parts of the district also contribute, we may infer that at least 5,000 or 6,000 seamen and firemen belong to Sylhet. Moreover, the number who go to sea is reported to be on the increase. The profession is not hereditary, but enterprising sons often follow their fathers' calling seeing that it is lucrative and more exciting than work at home The men seldom come from the fishing and boating classes, but are generally of ordinary Muhammadan cultivating families; sometimes also middle class Muhammadan

young men, if poor, go to sea. The places supplying the largest numbers are the sadr, Bishwanath and Balaganj thanas of North Sylhet, Chaualis pargana in South Sylhet, Jaldhup in Karimganj, Atuajan pargana in Sunamganj and Nabiganj thana in Habiganj subdivision. In Sunamganj they are said to go out for about 6 to 8 months every year between the ages of 18 and 50. In other parts they only return once in every 2 or 3 years. The usual extent of savings brought home is Rs. 200 or Rs. 300, but some bring Rs. 500 or Rs. 1,000, and those who become serangs come back as rich men.

Reports vary as to the effect of foreign service and travel on the men. Their ideas are certainly enlarged and their standards of life altered, though not always for the better. Many become extravagant *knuts* and merely squander their money until they have to go to sea again to get more. One serang or tindal whom I met in the interior while on tour produced a suit-case containing several bottles of scent, which he had brought from Marseilles and which he seemed to regard as his greatest treasure; he used the scent lavishly on himself and was with difficulty prevented from smothering the Census Superintendent with it!

Others again, of the more sober section, use their savings for the repayment of debt and the purchase of land. All appear to settle down finally as cultivators. There is no doubt that this profession affords a small but growing outlet for some part of the surplus population of Sylhet and it will be matter for satisfaction if it continues to bring a flow of outside money similar to that which found its way to the district during the war. No branch of the Seamen's Union or Association exists in the province.

(v) *Trade and Commerce.*

162. As the inset statement shows, having regard to the increase of population there has been no startling variation in the numbers subsisting on trade. Trade in food-stuffs absorbs more than two-thirds of the whole trade population; textiles are next in importance and here the numbers are kept up partly by the large proportion of Manipuri women who sell cloth in the State.

Number supported by Trade.

	1921.		1911.	
	Actual (000's omitted).	Per mille.	Actual (000's omitted).	Per mille.
Total ...	268	33·6	245	34·6
Food stuffs ...	185	23·2	164	23·4
Textiles ...	21	2·6	15	2·2
All other kinds.	62	7·8	66	90

Among traders in food, fish dealers form the largest proportion; these and milk or *ghee* sellers have already been mentioned (paragraphs 155 and 157). Groceries, grain and pulse, vegetables and betel-nut, *gur* and sweetmeat selling occupy some 88,000 or over 1 per cent. of the whole population.

The 'others' shown in the statement include a variety of trades each supporting only a few hundreds or thousands: variations since 1901 in the orders may be seen from Subsidiary Table VII. Among these a drop of 1,700 in the number dependent on banking and exchange and credit possibly indicates a welcome decrease of moneylenders, and of the bogus insurance agents who were so busy a few years ago; unfortunately we have no separate figures for these subdivisions of the group. The number under trade in metals has increased more than fourfold; combined with the decrease of about 3,000 recorded in the number supported by metal industries, this points to decline in the local iron and brass industries and increased use of imported aluminium and enamel ware and iron implements.

The number of general storekeepers and 'shopkeepers otherwise unspecified' has varied little; nearly 16,000 persons are now supported under this head. Itinerant pedlars have increased from 76 to 911, supporting 1,450 people: nearly all of these were censused in the Brahmaputra Valley, and the majority are women.

Of the natural divisions, the Surma Valley has the greatest trade population, 44 per mille, against only 28 in the Brahmaputra Valley and 24 in the Hills. This is due to the great preponderance of fish dealers in the Surma Valley.

163. The external trade of the province both rail and river borne—mainly with Calcutta and other parts of Bengal—and transfrontier, is under a regular system of registration, and the Director of Industries publishes annual and triennial reports on the subject; it is therefore

Internal trade.

unnecessary for me to discuss it. The conditions of trade in the interior, however, formed a subject of special enquiry at the census and detailed reports covering 62 different markets or bazars in widely scattered areas have been received. District and subdivisional headquarters markets, though frequently owned and managed by Municipalities, are counted as rural in the following summary, for they serve large rural populations as well as the townspeople and their conditions vary little except as to size and number of shops, from the ordinary markets of the interior.

Excluding very petty and minor *hâts*, a total number of 897 regular markets or bazars has been reported from the province (British territory only), but this excludes two subdivisions for which no numbers have been given, and a number of tea-garden bazars which have been omitted in some district reports. Practically all of these are distributing centres for various kinds of imported goods, as well as marts for rice and fresh food products of the neighbourhood.

Generally there is no single village shop stocking all kinds of articles. Where there are permanent shops they are usually two or three selling different kinds of commodity and owned by different classes of trader. For instance, there may be a Marwari's cloth shop, an upcountryman selling groceries or grain and pulse, and a Dacca Muhammadan dealing in miscellaneous or fancy goods.

Fairs.

164. Very few really large annual fairs are held in the province: perhaps only the Udalguri fair on the borders of the Balipara Frontier Tract and Darrang, held in January and February every year, comes under this head. Here Bhutias and Tibetans come down in considerable numbers and traders come from some distance for all branches of trade. The local people obtain some of their annual stocks of requirements at this fair, and there is a certain amount of buying for export by middlemen. A similar *mela* is held from December to March at Ghograpara in Darrang to which Bhutia traders and hillmen bring down ponies, livestock, blankets, lac, musk, ivory and walnuts. The volume of trade is, however, declining.

In all the plains districts of the province there are numbers of smaller *melas*, held at the time of Hindu religious festivals such as the Doljatra, Asokastami, Barunisnan, or the death anniversary of some well known Gossain. A good deal of trade, both in local and imported goods, is carried on at these *melas*. In Goalpara they are little more than the ordinary bazars shifted to the *mela* sites, and the volume of business is said to be declining. The *melas* are almost always started with some religious ceremony and often they are more in the nature of social and religious gatherings than of trading fairs. In Kamrup and the central Assam Valley they are by no means declining. In the Surma Valley, the Siddheswar *mela* in Cachar is the best known, and a good deal of trade as well as religious bathing occurs; this however is falling off in importance, and the attendance is said to be only some 3,000 people, whereas some of the Kamrup religious *melas* are attended by 5,000, or even by 10,000 people. At Jamuguri in Sibsagar district there is a Naga *hât* from *Kartik* to *Phalgun*, when a certain amount of trade in cotton and other hill produce is done.

A fair of some importance in the Sylhet district is the Ponatirtha *mela*, at the foot of the hills to the north of Sunamganj. Here about 8,000 attend annually but more than half of these are Hindu women who go to bathe. There is a good deal of trade, but all the articles are such as may be had in the ordinary markets, although a certain number of the hillmen and local villagers lay in their annual requirements at the *mela*. In some tea-garden areas in South Sylhet, horse racing and circuses are features of the winter *melas*.

The Sadiya Bazar is described by the Political Officer as being like a *mela* from November to March. At this time the tribesmen come down for their annual purchases and they bring with them scarce or valuable hill products such as beeswax, musk and *teeta*, as well as other goods. *Teeta* (*Coptis teeta*), a rhizome valued for its extract, used as a dye and also as a febrifuge and eye medicine, is purchased by a Calcutta firm for export to the Far East. About 120 maunds are brought in annually, the selling price being from Rs. 5 to Rs. 12-8 per seer. About 500 tolas of musk pods pass hands, at Rs. 15 per tola.

The bazar trade at Sadiya is in the hands of Marwaris, with a few Muhammadans of Sylhet, but all hill produce is sold at public auctions held by the Political Officer and his assistants: this ensures the hillmen against being cheated.

Rural markets.

165. Most of the headquarters markets sit daily for sale of fresh produce, such as fish and vegetables, when the attendance is not large—perhaps 200 or 300. Weekly or bi-weekly however there is a bazar day proper, when trade is much brisker and the attendance becomes often 2,000 or 3,000. In the Brahmaputra Valley, Cachar and the Hills there is a considerable number of Municipal, Local Board and other publicly owned markets. In Sylhet all are privately owned. Of the 897 regular markets reported, 60 are under Municipal or Local Board control and 119 under Government or other public ownership. The last number includes many *hâts* owned by Siems in the Khasi Hills.

The annexed statement shows for certain districts the area and population served by rural markets of all classes. The Sylhet total excludes Karimganj Subdivision from which no report was received, and some tea-garden *hâts* have been omitted, but the figures serve for a rough comparison. It will be noticed that the Surma Valley markets serve a smaller area and population than do those of the Brahmaputra Valley. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Garo Hills have numbers of regular markets but in the other hill districts they hardly exist, as the families are generally self-supporting and when any commodity runs short it can be borrowed from a neighbouring household until the next harvest. Thus there are only 3 markets reported from the Lushai Hills, four from North Cachar, and four in the Naga Hills, all at the larger centres and under public ownership. In Manipur these enquiries were not made.

District.	Actual number of markets.	Number of markets per 100,000 population.	Average number of square miles served by a market.
Goalpara ...	110	14	36
Kamrup ...	41	6	94
Darrang ...	57	12	51
Nowgong ...	43	11	86
Cachar Plains .	118	24	17
Sylhet ..	313	15	15
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	104	43	58
Garo Hills ...	27	15	116

Only about 30 of the regular markets are daily. Of the rest, rather more than half sit bi-weekly and less than half weekly. In the Khasi Hills "weekly" often means every 8th day and bi-weekly every 4th day. A few sit 3 times a week. There is seldom much business in the early morning; midday and afternoon are often the busiest times, especially in tea-garden areas where the coolies have a leave day every week; in ordinary rural areas the greatest throng often comes in the late afternoon or evening, when cultivators are able to attend after doing a day's work. In most areas the dry season brings the largest concourse, but in areas with a good deal of water, the busiest time of year may be the rains. Prices of articles other than agricultural produce do not generally vary greatly at different seasons, but bad communications to distant centres may cause a rise of 20 or 30 per cent. in the rains or just after. Some markets are affected adversely by others a few miles away, or connected by railway; but as a rule the weekly or biweekly bazar days are fixed so as not to clash and so as to enable the same traders and purchasers to attend two or three different bazars in the same area. A certain number of new *hâts* have been started to provide for new population, *e.g.*, for the Bhatiyas or Eastern Bengal settlers in the Assam Valley districts.

Trade in the markets.

166. At most of the regular markets every necessity and a good many of the luxuries of life can be bought and sold. In or near hill, forest or frontier areas special products such as spears, raw cotton, lac and other forest produce are dealt in; dogs are sold (males for eating, females for breeding—price from Re. 1 to Rs. 3) at Mokokchung in the Naga Hills and at Lakhipur bazar in Cachar; also at Damra in Goalpara, a market attended by the Garos.

Generally however rice and other agricultural produce, fresh and dried fish, vegetables and fruits, salt and groceries, tobacco and betel, oil and *gur*, cloth and yarn, implements and utensils, fancy and miscellaneous articles are the things to be found in all markets. For immediate comfort parched or fried grain, sweetmeats and sometimes tea, milk and sugar may be had. In parts of the Khasi Hills tea shops are a speciality: at the Bara Bazar at Shillong, it has been calculated that there are 40 tea stalls, each serving an average of 48 cups of tea. The Khasi women and girls make a profit of only about 9 annas from each tea shop or stall on the market day.

Baskets and mats are sold at some but not at all markets and live-stock, especially cattle, only at certain important ones. Where milk is sold, there is sometimes one price for pure and another for adulterated milk. For instance in Darrang 2½ annas a seer is paid for good milk, while some is so much watered that it fetches only 3 pice a seer. In some markets Nepalese dairymen are able to sell their *ghee* for Rs. 3 a seer and also to get 2 annas a seer for skimmed and watered milk.

The attendance varies from 100 or even less to about 4,000, but it is rarely over 1,000 at rural *hâts*. The traders are of different classes according to locality. Local agricultural produce is sold generally by the growers and forest produce by hillmen, although these things may be stocked by shopkeepers of other classes also. Cloth and other imported articles are sold in the Brahmaputra Valley by Marwaris, Dacca Bengalis, upcountrymen and local Assamese, the share of trade being generally in the order named. In the Surma Valley and the Hills local people have more of the retail trade in their hands.

Very few new commodities have appeared lately. *Charkas*, generally of local made, are sold in many markets as a result of the non-co-operation movement. At Mankachar in Goalpara *charkas* costing 10 annas for the wood and taking 2 days to make were priced at Rs. 2 each. Curious to relate, the name of the movement's leader, among whose articles of faith are the eschewal of luxuries and of foreign goods, is used as an advertisement on the Gandhi brand of cigarattes (Indian made) and Gandhi matches (Japanese). Japanese cloth and fancy goods have made great strides, doubtless owing to cheapness. For instance, cloth from Japan was introduced into the Khasi Hills in 1916-17 and its sale now amounts to 25 and 35 per cent. of the total cloth in Shillong and Jowai Bazars, respectively. American goods have not gained a very strong footing—as regards the smaller articles—but in some bazars of Sibsagar they are said to cover some 15 per cent. of the miscellaneous, stationery, and fancy goods trade. Generally Japanese things of this class predominate, and Indian and British made articles are only from 15 to 30 per cent. each of the total.

The following statement shows the relative volume of trade in cloth at certain important markets, as calculated by the enquiring officers. Yarn is almost all imported or from Bombay. Cloth includes piece-goods and ready garments.

District and name of market.		Percentage of kinds of cloth on sale at different markets, 1921.					
		Foreign (country unspecified).	Manchester.	Japanese.	Indian Mills.	Indian handwoven (usually from Bengal).	Local hand woven.
1		2	3	4	5	6	7
Goalpara ...	Dhubri	75	...	...	25	...	...
	Mankachar ...	...	45	5	40	10	...
Kamrup ...	Nalbari	...	40	...	40	...	20 (including *endi*.)
	Barpeta	...	60	28	12	...	...
Darrang	Bindukuri ...	...	68	13	13	...	6
Nowgong ...	Amchoi ...	20	...	...	80	...	...
	Juria	...	70	15	10	5	...
Sibsagar ...	Jorhat	...	50	25	25	...	...
	Golaghat	...	70	10	20	...	...
Lakhimpur ...	Doom-Dooma ...	...	Most	Little	Little	...	...
	North Lakhimpur ...	...	40	1	58	...	1
Sadiya ...	Sadiya	...	37½	25	37½	...	...
Garo Hills ...	Tura	...	35	10	10	45	...
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	Shillong	...	20	25	50	4	1
Cachar	Hailakandi ...	...	73	6	20	...	1
	Lakhipur ...	...	62	13	19	...	6
Sylhet	Kazi Bazar ...	...	83	12	...	...	5
	Sibganj	59	...	...	40	...	1

There is no reason to doubt the figures as a general indication of conditions, though they may not be accurate in detail. The North Lakhimpur figures, however, were obtained by actual counting of pieces sold on market days. From he statement it will be seen that at the time of the enquiry (shortly before the census) English cloth still held generally over half the trade and Bombay was a good second and Japan a fair third. Since the enquiry fiscal and political conditions have altered and it may be that the proportions have changed somewhat. The Indian handwoven cloth, other than local, is generally represented by Dacca *lungis* and *saris*, sold by Dacca merchants. In regard to handwoven cloth, it should be noted that while weaving is almost universal among the Assamese, they rarely weave for sale and a great part of what is sold is silk.

Stocks in remote shops are generally sufficient for several months, but, as a rule, stocks of cloth and dry goods are not kept for more than one to two months' needs. For grain a fortnight's supply is usual.

The turnover in large permanent shops may amount to several hundreds, or even thousands, of rupees in a week : Thus a cloth shop in Lakhipur (Cachar) has a turnover of Rs. 400 with a profit of 2 annas in the rupee; a brass shop turned over Rs. 300 at 1 anna in the rupee profit per week ; a grain shop at Doom-Dooma sold Rs. 1,700 worth with 1 anna per rupee profit in a week ; a miscellaneous goods shop at Dhubri turned over Rs. 750 worth of goods at 8 per cent. profit.

The smaller stallholders and producer-sellers make generally higher profits for their small stock-in-trade : a dried-fish seller makes 6 annas per rupee on total sales of 5 rupees and a betel-nut seller 2 annas on the same value of stock, per market day at Lakhipur.

Generally profits of the retailer vary from 1 anna to 4 annas and sometimes 6 annas in the rupee. Such profits are in addition to the wholesaler's profit on his sale to the retailer, but shop or stall rent and establishment charges have to be paid out of the retail profit. The profit made on sale of a tin of kerosene oil varies from the mere value of the empty tin (6 to 9 annas) to 25 per cent. *plus* the tin.

For permanent shops and stalls a frontage or area rent is charged by the owner or lessee of the market. For instance at Dhubri from Rs. 6 to Rs. 15 per month is the rent of permanent stalls let by the Municipality. At Hailakandi 8 annas and at Lakhipur Re. 1-8 per cubit of frontage are rates of annual shop rents. The Railway Company for its market sites at Margherita takes from annas 5 to Re. 1-4 per square yard per month. Rates charged by private owners are sometimes even higher than these. Temporary stalls are generally rented at from 1 to 4 annas per market day ; local sellers carrying in their goods pay 1 pice toll per bundle, or 2 pice for a man's load. For livestock a market-due per head is taken, such as 2 annas for buffaloes and 1 anna or less for smaller animals.

Money changers charge at different rates for changing notes and silver. In some places no charge is made for changing notes. The rate for changing a silver rupee is almost always 1 pice ; at Tura, however it is 2 pice, while nothing is charged for notes. At Chhaygaon in Kamrup, while 1 pice is charged for a silver rupee, 2 pice must be paid to get change for a one-rupee note.

Ten-rupee notes cost from 10 pice to 5 annas, and 100 rupee notes from 4 annas to 3 rupees to change.

Small shopkeepers generally obtain their stocks from larger local merchants—rarely from a distance—at a more favourable price than the large man charges to the public. Hence the small man is, as a rule, not being crushed out by the big seller. For a few markets the larger shopkeepers send out stocks for sale on bazar days from their main shops, and here the small trader suffers somewhat. Accounts kept by the smaller shopkeepers are of the roughest, and often none at all are kept.

Trade agents are generally only employed by large buying firms at special seasons for special crops, *e.g.*, for cotton from the hills and lac from the hills and lower Assam, and for jute and mustard. Traders from Bengal come in boats and buy quantities of rice from the interior in the Surma Valley, after the winter harvest Generally all products for export are bought by the regular Kayas or Marwari traders of the Brahmaputra Valley. Frequently money is advanced on the standing crops,

and although the cultivator obtains a temporary convenience by this ready money, he has to pay dearly for it. The description of the process given by Mr. Cantlie for North Lakhimpur is instructive :

"*Buying of standing crops by Kayas.*—Kayas advance money as a loan one month or two months before harvest on the bargain that one *dun* (of 3½ seers nominally) is to be given after harvest over and above the number of *duns* of the current market rate after harvest. But the Kaya's *dun* is not the regular 3½ seers but contains more. It is estimated that his *dun* contains 4 seers at least.

The current price being three *duns* per rupee, the Kaya gets 4 *duns* per rupee from the cultivator who borrowed a rupee two months before harvest. Thus the profit is 33 and one-third per cent. for three months. But instead of getting 14 seers he gets at least 16 seers, so he makes an extra 14 and two-sevenths per cent. He, therefore, makes 47½ per cent. in 3 months."

There are other ways, more or less well known, in which the cultivator or producer is overreached by the merchant or moneylender. But the above instance will suffice to show the immense benefit which may be conferred by an extension of co-operative credit.

Barter is fairly common, but more in the villages than at markets. Cultivators barter produce among themselves ; basket-makers, fishermen, potters and makers of snail-shell lime exchange their produce for grain, vegetables and fruit from cultivators ; Garos barter raw cotton for fried rice from upcountrymen ; Bhutias sometimes exchange blankets with the Assamese for *endi* cloth.

(*vi*) *Industries.*

167. Assam is not an El Dorado. Apart from agriculture and tea, industry is of little account, and the statement in the margin hardly indicates growth, although certain industries have actually increased a little. It is true that there are plenty of natural resources in the country, and both organized and cottage industries if developed could well subsist and aid the return of prosperity, side by side with agriculture. But the obstacles to development are strong.

Industry (including mines). Number supported.

—	Actual (000's omitted).	Per mille of population of province.
1921 ...	205	26
1911 ...	223	32
1901 ...	204	33

Small industries have of course been greatly impaired by the import of cheap machine-made goods and by the general move towards agriculture as a source of livelihood. In some cases the craftsmen have lost their ancient skill, (*e.g.*, in ivory-carving) although the hereditary skill of the fine silk weavers of Sualkuchi in Kamrup is a conspicuous instance of the contrary. In other cases the strangling hold of the middleman is heavy on the worker. In larger industries the difficulty of communications and the shyness or shortness of capital are the most serious obstacles. For instance, there is much good coal in the Garo Hills, but arrangements for removing it to railhead have been holding up for years the work of the company which has the concession. Large parts of the valuable coal seams of Upper Assam are highly inclined and below the permanent saturation level, so that working will probably be expensive and difficult. Petroleum exists in various parts and several prospectors are now at work, but it has not yet been struck in such quantity as to make the Assam production of oil anything but a fraction of the Burma output. Good pulp for paper can be made from the *savannah* grasses and bamboos of Assam but want of communications as well as lack of enterprise have hindered the development of paper making in the past. A paper company has now been formed and is said to be waiting for its plant. Large stores of water power exist in the country, but the expenses of survey and of opening them up have acted as a brake in this case : moreover some of the greatest sources are in difficult transfrontier country—for example, the Nongyang lake in the north-east. Excellent roofing slate is found in certain rivers to the east of the Naga Hills (the Kalyo-kengyu tribe, "slated-house men," derive their name from its use), but it is very far from any main communications and mostly in unadministered country.

Thus we find that industry, including mines, supports only 205,000 persons or about 2½ per cent. of the population of Assam. Let this be contrasted with Madras (which the Director of Industries of that Presidency calls industrially backward), with 13 per cent. dependent on industry, and we can see how little Assam has to do as yet with any productive means of subsistence except agriculture and tea.

Industries. Number supported.	Actual (000's omitted).	Percentage of industrial total.
TOTAL	205	100
Minerals	11	5
Textiles	49	24
Wood	36	18
Metals	10	5
Ceramics	15	7
Food	20	10
Dress	34	16
Building	5	3
Gold and silversmithy	14	7
Others	11	5

More than two-thirds of the 20,000 under food industries are paddy huskers and flour grinders: the majority of these are women workers in the Surma Valley and Goalpara. The rest of the group comprises sweetmeat makers, bakers, grain parchers, distillers and a few others. All of the 1,700 distillers and brewers are in the Khasi Hills and Manipur, as the outstill system is not in force elsewhere, while brewing of rice beer is generally a household activity, and not a business, for hill tribes. The order "Industries of dress and toilet" is made up mainly of 13,000 barbers, 10,000 tailors, 7,000 washermen and 2,000 shoemakers, in each case dependants being included with workers. "Others" includes over 4,000 sweepers and scavengers. Building means only those engaged in *pucca* work, such as masons and lime burners. Those engaged in *kacha* building, thatching and similar work, are shown under wood industries, which with textiles and ceramics are discussed in paragraphs 170-172.

Organised industries—
Coal mines.
Petroleum wells.

168. The number censused as employed or dependent on coal mines was 6,700—nearly all in Lakhimpur and the Naga Hills, where a new colliery has been opened in the decade. By petroleum wells 3,100 are supported, five-sixths of the total being in Lakhimpur at the Digboi wells and the rest in Cachar, near Badarpur, where crude oil extraction has been started in the decade.

Coal and petroleum were included in one group at the last census: the combined figures are now nearly double than those of 1911, on account of the new extensions mentioned.

Limestone.
Corundum.
Salt.

Limestone workers and their dependants have decreased from about 700 to 400. These are nearly all in the Khasi Hills. The district returns of output of the quarries also show some decrease, thus confirming the evidence of decline shown by the census figures.

A corundum mine was started in the Khasi Hills during the war and the output was considerable. This has now declined and the number supported is small.

Salt is produced in the Manipur State and in the Naga Hills (but mostly beyond the frontier). The number engaged in the industry has dropped from 700 to 200.

Sawmills.
Mustard oil and rice mills.

There are only a few other industries organized in a small way with factories. These will be noticed in the next paragraph. Over 6,000 sawyers were censused, but it is impossible to separate the mill workers from the ordinary hand sawyer parties included in the census figures. The same applies to oil pressing and rice husking, but in any case very few of the total workers in the last two categories are factory employees, as the concerns are few and small.

The industrial census.

169. The ordinary census returns of occupation were supplemented by an industrial census taken on special forms filled in by managers of concerns with particulars of their staff, products and power employed, if any. A factory was defined as an establishment

employing 10 or more persons and occupied in producing some article or putting some process into an article to adapt it for use, transport or sale. In 1911 the minimum number of employees including the manager was taken at 20. The schedules were filled up with the particulars prescribed by the Government of India for some working day before or about the time of the census—it was generally not the actual census date, nor was it the same day for all factories. Tea, although mainly a matter of agriculture, was held to be a manufactured article for the purposes of this industrial census, and even gardens with no factory had to be included since they contributed to the process of production.

Thus the returns for Assam, which would otherwise be of very minor interest, become important and the numbers are greatly swollen. Much difficulty was found in filling up the schedules although District Officers were able to help managers by deputation of special men, and we may consider the return as correct only in certain portions. As to numbers of employees, distinction between children and adults and between skilled and unskilled, there are necessarily discrepancies, since dates varied somewhat and the judgment of managers differed as to ages of children and as to what constituted a skilled worker. The marginal statement gives the number of concerns falling under the different heads. Detailed statistics are contained in Imperial Table XXII, and in Subsidiary Tables IX to XIII appended to this chapter.

Total number of concerns	904
Special products	800
(*Tea* ... ...)	(795)
Mines and oil wells	6
Textiles	16
Wood	35
Metals	7
Glass and earthen ware	2
Chemical products	13
Food industries	3
Industries connected with building ...	1
Construction of means of transport...	14
Industries of luxury	7

There are 611 concerns or factories worked by power. These are shown in the main tables separately from those without power. Steam is still used in 512 factories, 471 of which are tea gardens. Oil engines are evidently gaining on steam in popularity: they now give motive power to 91 factories. Electricity is generated and used as chief power by only one tea garden and by the Surma Valley Sawmills at Bhanga, where in addition to the usual tea boxes and shooks made in all the sawmills of the province, three-ply wood is manufactured. There is as yet no publicly supplied electricity used for power in Assam, although a hydro-electric company at Shillong is about to supply power as well as light.

As shown in Subsidiary Table XI, the number of establishments directed or privately owned by Indians appears to be considerable, but as a rule these are small concerns, such as mustard oil mills employing 10 or 20 persons, small tea gardens and sawmills or pits often without power Parts I to III of Imperial Table XXII show race of owners and managers and other employees. The great majority of tea gardens, the coal mines and oil wells are still owned and managed by European companies and Europeans. Clerical work and direction and supervision in subordinate positions is almost always done by Indians. When the right men are selected there is no reason to doubt of the success of Indians in the higher managing positions, but when men have been sent from office chairs, say, to manage tea gardens, the results have proved in some cases far from comforting to the owners or share-holders.

Skilled workmen are generally Indians trained in the factory or garden, but there are few processes in Assam requiring a very high degree of skill from the workers. Where much mechanical knowledge or high technical skill is required foreigners such as Panjabi fitters and Chinese carpenters are often employed. Doctors on tea gardens are sometimes of the Sub-Assistant Surgeon class, but usually they have not been trained or passed examinations up to that standard. The medical work of a group of gardens is generally under the supervision of a European doctor.

A few undertakings of interest do not appear in the industrial tables as they employed less than 10 persons: instances are Municipal water works in several of our towns, some printing presses in 3 or 4 towns and an ice factory in Sibsagar. The Badarpur oil field is also omitted as the manager reported that the business was only oil-prospecting: but in fact, the wells are now turning out about 5 million gallons of crude oil in a year, although no process of refining is carried on. None of the numerous small lime-kilns which are such a feature of the river banks near Chhatak in Sylhet employ as many as ten men.

Under the head mines, we have the Lakhimpur coal mines and oil wells working much as before, and a new colliery being worked at Borjan in the Naga Hills trans-Dikhu country; the small copper mine working in Manipur at last census has been closed; and a corundum mine, now employing 104 hands, has been opened in the Khasi Hills.

The textile works include a *sisal* factory in Sylhet, two *rhea* factories in Kamrup and a few small jute presses in Goalpara. One tea garden weaves cotton cloth for its workers, but there is no cotton mill in the province.

Under special products other than tea, there are four sugar factories and one indigo plantation, but the amount of sugar turned out is not great and the indigo is a very small concern at present.

Metal industries include only workshops for repairs and renewals of railway, steamer and motor car material and for general purposes.

For the rest, we have a few small mustard oil and rice mills, generally owned by Marwari merchants, 12 power and 19 hand sawmills (usually making only tea boxes and scantlings) 3 carpentry works, one or two brick and lime-kilns and some small printing presses—not an imposing list of organized industries. One newly-started small sawmill in Sylhet makes boats as well as tea *shooks*, etc.

The numbers of employees shown by the industrial census do not agree with those shown under the several heads in the ordinary census, as the former was taken generally from the factory books and on different days and includes some workers to whom the factory is only a subsidiary occupation.

170. The inset statement summarises for the province the results of answers to the cottage industry questions, for which a special enumeration paper was issued in every block. The district details are given in Provincial Table V. No cottage industry census was taken in Manipur.

Cottage Industries in Assam (excluding Manipur).

Handlooms	421,367
(Brahmaputra Valley	*358,913)*
(Surma Valley	*18,944)*
(Hills, excluding Manipur	*43,510)*
Spindles	229,463
(Brahmaputra Valley	*145,656)*
(Surma Valley	*18,546)*
(Hills, excluding Manipur	*65,261)*
Hand cotton-ginning machines	95,172
Oil ghanis	12,751
Sugarcane mills	14,279
Tailoring shops (with 2 or more workers)	1,625
Sewing machines (commercial)	3,424
Brass workshops	729
Bell metal workshops	446
Potters' workshops (with two or more potters)	2,180
Carpenters' shops (with 2 or more carpenters)	1,778
Blacksmithies (with 2 or more smiths)	2,550
Dairy establishments	2,179
Cream-separating machines	2,544

Unfortunately no comparison can be made with the last census as no such statistics were collected then. To make the list fairly complete for the province we should add gold and silversmithy, rearing of lac and of silk worms, bamboo, cane and grass-mat work, umbrella handles, tin lamps and boxes, button making from shells, lacquered wooden toys, distillation of *aguru*, and some moribund industries such as clay idol making, ivory carving and buffalo-horn working: but the numbers supported by these industries are small, except in the case of goldsmithy and basket and mat-making.

In some districts the war had little effect on any industry, but where local cotton was available, *e.g.*, in the Garo Hills and in Nowgong some impetus was given to spinning. In most plains districts, which depend on imported thread and dyes, cotton weaving was adversely affected by the rise in the price of yarn. All cottage industries in Goalpara are considered to be improving, though slowly. In Kamrup silk spinning and weaving and silkworm rearing are improving owing to increased demand. In Nowgong weaving is attracting much attention. In other districts a decline is generally recorded and even silk is said to be not thriving in Sibsagar. In the Naga Hills, import from Manipur of thread and cloths (made to Naga patterns) is causing a decline in local spinning and weaving. From the Surma Valley, where spinning and weaving are confined to a small part of the population, the professional weavers, the reports record a decline, although non-co-operation has given a small stimulus. Brass work has suffered, by the stoppage of raw material (imported sheets

of brass) during the war, and many Morias in Assam have taken to cultivation Local iron work, even in the rough implements ordinarily made, is being displaced by cheap imported goods.

The other industries in the list are stationary or improving but slightly. On the whole the cottage industries of the province can scarcely be said to be flourishing. The need for guidance in improved methods, for breaking down apathy and conservatism and for extension of co-operative credit is imperative if progress is to be made.

Weaving.

171. The enormous proportion of hand looms in the Brahmaputra Valley as compared with other divisions will be noticed from the statement: there is here an average of nearly one loom to every two occupied houses. Weaving is an established custom of the housewife, and cloth is nearly always made for home use. Only in the case of cotton cloth made by some of the Bengal immigrants and silk by the Assamese is there any serious sale. The cloth is woven in the spare time of the women and girls and often only enough surplus is made to pay the family's land revenue. In the Naga Hills weaving (for home use) is even more universal than in the Assam Valley: in other hill districts it is less common. In the Upper Brahmaputra Valley districts, Miri and Abor cotton rugs are sold. The supply of Miri rugs in Sibsagar has fallen off, but the Abors are making and selling more than before in Lakhimpur in order to pay the higher prices now ruling for the imported goods which they want.

The number recorded with principal means of subsistence under the textile groups in the province is but 49,000. This number, even if we add to it the 29,000 cultivators who returned weaving as a subsidiary occupation, bears no relation to the numbers who weave in the province, as the census of handlooms shows. The Brahmaputra Valley and the hill people usually do not weave for profit and the Surma Valley weavers are taking to cultivation. Most of the textile workers recorded are in Manipur but there is a fall in the number of Manipuri woman weavers which, combined with an increase of cloth-sellers in Manipur, seems to indicate that the women in the State are taking to trade in imported cloth rather than the making and selling of their own cloth (for one who both makes and sells would be tabulated as a maker).

About 4,000 of the looms in the province are said to be of the fly-shuttle pattern. I doubt if the number is as great as this. The Industries Department has certainly been demonstrating, and some middle class families as well as ordinary weavers have taken up the fly-shuttle type, but it is probable that the question was often misunderstood by the enumerators. The cost of making an ordinary country loom varies from Rs. 4 to Rs. 15 in different districts, the average being about Rs. 10. Those of better make will last a generation, or even a life-time, with periodical renewals of fragile parts such as reeds and ropes. Cheaper kinds last only 4 or 5 years. Some of the elaborate looms used by the Sualkuchi weavers in Kamrup cost as much as Rs. 30. Naga looms cost nothing but a day's labour.

Profits on cotton cloth making are usually low. Those on silk are higher, but for poor people who have no capital they are sometimes kept down by middlemen who advance thread or money to buy thread. For instance, a Sualkuchi silk-weaver working on this system stated that his profit in 20 days was only Rs. 5. I give below calculations of profit on a few typical cloths made in certain districts.

District.	Cloth.	Size in cubits.	Cost of thread and dye.	Time taken to make.	Sale price.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Goalpara ...	Woman's upper garment—cotton.	5×1½	Rs. a. p. 0 8 0	2 days	Rs. a. p. 1 0 0	Made by immigrants from Bengal.
Kamrup ...	*Endi* cloth ...	20×3	10 0 0	12 „	Rs. 18 to 20	
Darrang ...	*Muga mekhala* ...	6×2	Rs. 8 to 10	10 „	Rs. 12 to 13	
Nowgong ...	*Cheleng*, with border...	7×3	3 8 0	1 week	5 0 0	Generally only widows weave for sale.
North Lakhimpur...	*Endi* cloth ...	13½×2¼	6 0 0	1 month*	20 0 0	* Only in spare time of housewife.
Cachar ...	Cotton wrapper ...	...	2 12 0	6 days	3 8 0	Only females weaving.
South Sylhet ...	Ditto ...	10×2½	1 14 0	3 days (or 2 days by fly shuttle).	2 8 0	Woven by Naths (both sexes).
Garo Hills ...	*Eking* or Garo petticoat	About 2½×1	0 9 0	...	1 0 0	Work only at odd moments.
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	Bhoi cotton cloth ...	6×2	2 8 0	1½ months (spare time only).	Rs. 4 to 5	Home-grown, spun and dyed thread used.

From the statement it will be seen that cotton weaving pays little as compared with silk. There is usually a ready market for Assam silk and though in the Assam Valley it is generally only for home use that weaving is carried on, it is clear that it holds great possibilities of profit to those who wish for it provided they rear and spin or can afford to buy their own thread without advances from middlemen. Regular weavers work from 8 to 10 hours a day.

Dye or dyed thread is generally bought from the bazars, when colour is wanted. Nowadays it is generally only the hillmen or cognate tribes who make their own dye. In Kamrup a green dye is made by the Kacharis, who do not generally disclose its secret. The Mikirs use lac and hill creepers; Nagas, madder (wild) and hill indigo (*Strobilanthes flaccidifolius*—cultivated); Lushais both bazar dyes and home-prepared hill indigo. The Bhois on the north of the Khasi Hills use turmeric for yellow, lac for red and iron ore for black dyes, in each case the bark of some trees being added and the mixture boiled three times with the thread. Miris in North Lakhimpur dye *muga* thread by boiling with part of the core of the jack-fruit tree. The length of the processes required to make the hill dyes permanent appears to be inducing a tendency to buy imported dyes even for local thread.

The Chins who have immigrated from Burma to the Lushai Hills (Lungleh) have brought with them the art of weaving most beautiful and artistic cloths.

One Garo has shewn enterprise by applying water-power by a wheel to cotton ginning and the Deputy Commissioner notes that, though small as yet, the venture promises to be successful.

Other small industries.

172. The numbers of oil *ghanis* and sugarcane mills—both usually of the most primitive kind—are a measure of the large extent to which the cultivator, either Assamese or *ex*-coolie, extracts his own products. The numbers recorded at the main census for makers of *gur* and for vegetable oil manufacture are but 38 and 1,991 respectively: it seems therefore that these two classes have (properly) described themselves generally as cultivators though some may be entered as sellers. These industries are not declining, because cultivation is extending and demand is high.

There are over 2,000 potters' workshops, and there should be a ready market for pottery, yet imported articles are in many parts replacing earthenware. The total number supported by pottery has decreased by 2,000 to about 13,800; Goalpara, Darrang and the Garo Hills have increases and all the other districts in the province share the decrease. Upcountrymen have settled as potters in several centres in Dibrugarh subdivision, and the demand for Sibsagar earthenware has lessened in consequence.

Brass has suffered, as explained above, more than bell metal, because the raw material of the latter industry consists of old and broken vessels found in India. In Sibsagar, however, the bell metal industry is reported to have declined. At Sarthebari in Kamrup bell metal articles, though of no great variety, show considerable artistic merit.

The number of carpenters' workshops with two or more workmen is nearly 1,800; over one-third of these are in Sylhet where boat building and repairing is an essential industry. Carpenters and sawyers have increased by over 1,000, the number supported being now 21,500 in the province. Blacksmithies are 2,500 but the number supported by the iron industry has decreased by about 500 persons. There is some increase in the number of blacksmiths in the hills, but a decrease in both valleys. It seems that here also there is room for introduction of improved methods and better supply of raw materials. The material at present is obtained either from shops or from villagers in the form of scrap iron or old and broken implements, and in some cases in the Naga Hills of hoes, etc., stolen from the plains! A little iron is still smelted locally at Nongspung in the Khasi Hills.

For tailors and cobblers there is always work and under these heads there is some increase. The number of tailors' shops is over 1,600 and there is an average of two sewing machines per shop: probably however some private machines have been wrongly included by the enumerators.

The wages paid by master tailors vary from Rs. 15 to Rs. 35 a month usually for an 8-hour day, or from Rs. 4 to Rs. 15 a month if food and lodging is found. In Sylhet the hours are generally longer, but there is a food interval. Outwork or *thika* work is not common: where it applies a man working either for himself or for a master tailor can make about 12 annas in an eight-hour day.

Dairy establishments are over 2,000. Most of these are in the hands of Nepalese graziers. The number of cream separators recorded is 2,500: the question paper asked for modern cream-separating machines, but I believe that large numbers of the ordinary bamboo machines have been included.

Basket and mat making, bamboo work, thatching and similar occupations, support over 15,000 people—an increase of about 1,500 since 1911. The male workers have increased but the number of female workers has fallen by 4,000. It seems that women in Sylhet (the chief centre) are giving up work in the mat industry or have preferred to call themselves dependants: probably the latter is the true reason, since the demand continues and the industry does not show signs of declining. *Sitalpati*-making has been shown separately in the tables at this census: there are 1,140 persons supported by 391 workers in this industry. Nearly all are in Sylhet.

Babu Kshirode Chandra Purkayastha of Karimganj has been kind enough to allow me to use the notes which he has made on certain of the cottage industries of that subdivision. In Appendix E, I have given a summary of the results of his enquiries, which illuminate the position of the middleman in several cases.

(*vii*) *Labour.*

173. Tea-garden coolies form nearly 80 per cent. of all those who labour for wages in Assam. The labour supply problem for the gardens is therefore a special one; this has been discussed from the statistical point in Chapter III of this report. As to the supply of all other kinds of labour in the province there is little difficulty: either local people or seasonal immigrants are generally available. The only exception is in the case of those castes which are giving up labour as a hereditary calling: this is likely to cause some local difficulties in future, for instance in getting men to carry loads or to ply boats for hire, but as yet the tendency has not gone far enough to be felt seriously.

General.

The conditions of tea-garden labour have been dealt with in great detail elsewhere,* and only a brief summary need be given here. The organization of a tea garden has always been patriarchal, with the manager at the head. Whatever opinions may be advanced as to the possibility or desirability of bringing the conditions of garden workers into line with modern ideas of industrial polity and of raising wages, no general complaint against the humanity of the treatment of the coolies has been made. Tea-garden labour is recruited from parts of other provinces where there is pressure on the soil. New coolies, it is reported, are generally content with their surroundings. After working a year or two they do not usually want to return to their own country but prefer to settle as cultivators in Assam.

Tea gardens.

The system of work is by fixed tasks, taking about 3 to 5 hours to complete, for which a certain daily rate (usually from 4 to 6 annas for a man and less for a woman) is paid, and which the workers can and do supplement by *thika*-work unless, as in the recent slump, the condition of the industry calls for curtailment. The wages are low, but the family earnings, with other concessions, ensure the coolies a better condition than they could expect generally in their own country. The extras include free housing and fuel, good water supply, free medical treatment, sick leave allowances; in many cases also, supply of rice below market rates, free meals to children on the estate, leave with half or sometimes full pay to pregnant women both before and after delivery. A certain amount of cheap or even free land for cultivation is also available, although on an average for the province this does not amount to much per head of the coolie population. Medical treatment in the form of medicine is generally welcomed, but going to hospital as in-patients is disliked.

In some cases travelling theatres and bioscopes are brought in by the management but generally nothing is done for the recreation of the workers beyond subscriptions to *pujas* and festivals. Attempts made to introduce amusements have failed: experienced planters state that they have tried but the coolies prefer singing and dancing to the tom-tom. As the Census Officer of Sylhet expresses it, "on festive occasions labourers are given liberty to make themselves merry".

* Assam Labour Enquiry Committee, 1921-22, Report.

The standard of life of the garden workers is said to have improved somewhat and then to have fallen again at the end of the decade. On the Upper Brahmaputra Valley gardens, however, the standard is considered even now to be slightly above the pre-war standard. The Labour Committee found that wage increases had generally not been commensurate with the rise in the cost of living. Mr. Wood, Superintendent of Doom-Dooma Tea Company and Honorary Magistrate, states that though wages have risen by 50 per cent., more money is now spent on drink and so the relative position of the coolie remains the same although the rise in prices is partly discounted by issue of cheap rice as well as by the wage-increase.

Local labour for tea gardens has been discussed in paragraph 152 above.

Coal mines, oil wells and sawmills.

The coal mines, oil wells and sawmills of Upper Assam recruit labour by the same agency as do tea gardens, but other classes such as Makranis and Nepalis on the mines, and settled *ex*-coolies in the oil field, are also employed. There is no shortage of labour.

The manager of the Assam Oil Company mentions by way of illustration of the popularity of work on the oil wells that when he sends down for 40 men, 200 want to come. A few Assamese local labourers are found in the oil industry. These are men who wish to learn skilled artisans' work : nevertheless, although every inducement is given to local men to learn a trade and earn higher pay, the skilled workers employed are generally men who have been trained elsewhere than at Digboi oil wells.

An unskilled coal-miner earns from 10 to 13 annas a day ; in some cases the rise of wages in the decade amounts to 100 per cent., and the miner's standard of living has risen. This is also reflected in the family budgets of the miners, which show more spent on comforts and luxuries than do most other workers' budgets.

At Digboi, male oil-well workers earn Rs. 14 and women Rs. 8 a month, *plus* overtime. Their rise in wages has been only 16½ per cent. in the decade.

The Lakhipur sawmills in Cachar get their labourers from the same source as do the tea gardens, but the Badarpur oil wells employ chiefly local men. These (men of Cachar) are found to be the best workers. Their average wages are Rs. 12 a month to start with and they get an increase of Re. 1 a month every year. The increase in rate of wages at these oil wells has been from 25 to 50 per cent.

The Cachar sawmills rate for unskilled labour is 4 annas a day to start with, but this rises to 5½ annas after a month.

In tea and the other industries which obtain labour from outside, the aim is generally to recruit families—for the men are then more contented, and women and children also work.

Other labour.

Among outside or non-organized labour, *e.g.*, earth workers, potters, domestic servants, there has generally been a rise in daily wages of from 50 to 100 per cent., corresponding with the rise in prices, but the standard of life of the workers has not improved. A general labourer getting 5 or 6 annas a day in Kamrup in 1911, could get from 10 to 12 annas in 1921 ; in Sylhet a domestic servant who was paid Rs. 3 *plus* food in 1911 must be paid Rs. 6 with food in 1921. In the Khasi Hills a skilled carpenter's wages have risen from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per day, and a Public Works Department coolie's wages from 8 annas to 12 annas (male) or from 4 or 5 annas to 8 or 10 annas (female). A Goalpara agricultural labourer can now get 8 annas against 6 annas in 1911. The piece-work rates for earth workers have also risen in similar measure. On the whole, it seems that casual and general labourers have suffered less from the rise in prices than have other food-buying classes.

The war.

Although Assam sent out many thousands of combatants and non-combatants, the war had no appreciable effect on the supply of labour for the province except in the case of the coal mines, where recruitment of Makranis, Pathans and Gurkhas was somewhat affected.

Women in industry.

174. Subsidiary Table VI compares the numbers of the two sexes under different occupations, while Subsidiary Table IX gives their distribution according to the Industrial Census. About 146,000 women, or nearly 30 per cent.—against 29 per cent. in 1911—of the whole

female population of the province are recorded as working at some occupation other than the usual duties of a housewife. More than half of these are ordinary cultivators, *i.e.*, generally they help substantially in working the family land, a small number only being returned as farm servants and field labourers; more than a quarter of the total are engaged in the tea industry; the rest are distributed over the handicrafts, trade, professions, pasture, labour and unproductive industries. In the statement inset, the textile workers' proportion of women to men is very high because of the number of woman handloom weavers in Manipur and because most male weavers in the province have now returned themselves as cultivators.

Percentage of female to male workers.

—	1921.	1911.
All occupations ...	45	44
Tea ...	94	97
Ordinary cultivation	38	37
Mines and oil-wells.	24	29
Textiles ...	2,116	1,535
Porters, road and general labourers.	26	45
Basket, mat-making, thatching, etc.	59	205
Ceramics ...	84	125
Trade ...	35	42
Professions and arts.	5	4
Unproductive ...	115	130

The high percentage of female workers on tea gardens will be noticed at once. Practically all women of working age on the gardens work. In fact they have to do so, for it is the family earnings and not only the man's which support the tea coolie's family. It has been pointed out in some quarters that this is the case in other industries as well as tea. The statistics certainly support the contention, but to a very limited extent, for they show that the proportions of women working at ordinary agriculture, in the mines and oil wells, or at general labour and earth work are far below that of the tea gardens. In cottage industries the proportions are somewhat higher, and here the women's work is sometimes complementary to the men's, *e.g.*, in mat-making, where men strip cane and women weave the mats.

On the tea gardens ample consideration is shown for the women. They work generally at plucking, pruning and light hoeing and forking. As a rule, they earn about three-fourths of a man's wages but in the plucking season they often get a good deal more than men. In addition to the pregnancy benefits already noted, there is often a system of bonus payments for each child born and living at six months or a year old. On some gardens and at Digboi oil wells midwives are paid by the management, and medical help is given if asked for, though this is rarely wanted in maternity cases.

At the coal mines and oil wells women are employed mostly in load carrying At Borjan colliery, for instance, men object to their women folk going down the mines, and the management do not encourage it.

Women are not replacing men in any industry. Sometimes however the gentler sex excels, as for instance in weaving, transplanting rice, plucking tea and curing fish.

In the unproductive order there is an excess of women over men, for this includes beggars, vagrants, prostitutes and procurers. I fear that the figures in the last named group (4 males and 675 females) make the province out to be rather more virtuous than it really is.

In hill districts women work even more freely than in the plains. Cultivation weaving and load carrying are the common occupations. In the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, women earn 12 annas a day carrying loads.

Trading by women is generally looked down upon unless sanctioned by caste rules or customs. Fish selling continues to be an occupation of both sexes, but its practice by women has been interdicted in many places by the Nadiyal and Kaibartta caste leaders: in consequence there is a fall in the number of women returned under this trade. Married and widowed Manipuri women sell cloth in the Surma Valley. In most districts elderly women of the lower local castes and of foreign coolie castes do petty huckstering in such articles as vegetables and miscellaneous goods. In the Khasi Hills women trade in various goods and also keep tea stalls in places. In Sadiya bazar Nepalese women sell miscellaneous goods and tea in a few petty shops, where youth and beauty are said to attract customers.

Generally there is a tendency abroad in the plains districts to restrict women from working or trading outside the house. Comparison of some of the percentages in the statement above illustrates this. But the figures of occupation are weighted

heavily, in addition to the textiles, by the numbers employed in tea and ordinary cultivation, where the restrictions have not applied seriously so far ; hence, in spite of the fall in the general sex-ratio (Chapter VI), the proportion of women to men working in all occupations taken together is almost stationary. The tables show a slight rise, but this is accounted for by the entry of Naga Hills women cultivators these were wrongly classed as dependants in 1911.

Fish selling is the most prominent instance of restriction, but in the Surma Valley it is reported also that women of the Namasudra, Patni and Mali castes are not allowed to work in the fields so freely as before, and a movement by the Manipuris to stop their women going to market was also started in Cachar. One or two Deputy Commissioners of tea districts have reported a tendency among garden coolies also to stop their women working when the men are earning enough by themselves.

Again, Assamese widows sometimes weave for sale where married and unmarried ones do not. It may be hoped that all these indications point more to a feeling of shame among the men, that they should be thought unable to work sufficiently hard to support their women folk, than to any other reason such as the occupations themselves being considered degrading.

Children in industry.

175. Children are employed in most industries when they reach an age at which their work begins to be of any profit. Subsidiary Table IX shows the proportion of children employed to adults. Though wages are small, work is generally healthy and children are not sweated—except perhaps in some cases of domestic service—and in the present educational and economic state of the province the effect on the children appears to be good. Many children do not care for school, even when schools are provided, and their intelligence is doveloped by light work at the most impressionable ages.

In cultivating families boys begin to tend cattle from about 7 years old and learn to plough at 10 or 11. Girls help in weaving at home. On tea gardens children begin at about the age of 8 and are employed on work such as insects gathering, weeding and light forking, or in the tea house, usually for 3 or 4 hours in the morning and sometimes for 2 or 3 in the afternoon.

At the oil refineries children work longer hours, from 7 to 12 o'clock in the forenoon and 1 to 5 in the afternoon, soldering tins. In the mines they work regularly from 14 years onwards, doing the standard hours of the older people but having a rest interval ; they do mud-plastering and other light work and are also used as messengers. Their wages in all industries vary from one-third to five-eighths of those earned by adults. In the Borjan colliery there are only 6 children at work, so that there is evidently no forcing by the management.

Boys in domestic service get from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 a month with free food, where an adult may earn Rs. 6 or Rs. 8 with the same concession.

Industry and caste.

176. In Imperial Table XXI the occupations returned by members of certain castes are set out for comparison with the total numbers of the castes and their traditional occupations.

The proportions returning their traditional callings are ususally very low except in the case of cultivators. Thus we find that of 9,715 working Nadiyals (*i.e.*, the remnant who did not adopt another caste name) only 2,225 returned fishing or fish trading as their chief means of livelihood : nearly all the rest were entered as cultivators, although 1,482 of these had fishing as a subsidiary occupation.

Of 61,000 working Yogis about 3,600 had weaving as principal and 3,400 as subsidiary occupation. The great majority of the rest come under cultivation.

The Kewats are an exception ; about 80 per cent. of the 43,000 workers are returned as fishermen.

The same tendency to abandon traditional callings such as fishing, goldsmithy, pottery, labour and scavenging, which are looked down on by the higher castes or classes, continues everywhere, and among both Hindus and Muhammadans. The Yogis have more often abandoned weaving because cultivation is found to be more paying. Brahmans also have largely abandoned religious work as it is not lucrative. Some Brahmans from Dibrugarh, for example, have gone to learn agriculture and even tanning.

From North Sylhet the Census Officer notes that some Halwa Dases or Mahisyas are giving up cultivation for carpentry; this movement however is too small to appear in the statistics. In some cases in the Brahmaputra Valley those who take up

handicrafts in place of cultivation are rather looked down on by their caste fellows, *e.g.*, in the case of Kalitas working as goldsmiths or blacksmiths: needless to say, this is not the case when men of cultivating castes become clerks.

On the tea gardens and among the rest of the small industrial population of the province, there is generally some loosening of caste rules and customs for accommodation to present conditions of life. Rules, however, do survive, and caste discipline is enforced on gardens or in factories by the panchayat and *sardars*; where necessary, as for instance in inter-caste disputes, the religious heads settle matters, aided or backed often by the Manager. Outsiders, unless they are settled *ex*-coolies, are not called in for the panchayat.

(*viii*) *Economic condition of the people.*

Family budgets.

177. In earlier chapters of this report the bearing of the economic state of the people on population growth and other matters has been mentioned. There is no doubt that a considerable proportion of the plains people is living below the comfort line, although the causes may be different—climatic, temperamental or economic—in different parts of the province and sections of the people. Attempts were made at the census to collect information by means of domestic budgets. About 400 such budgets were collected from different classes of workers in all districts, but unfortunately examination of them has shown such great variations that they are of little use for the formation of any estimate of the extent of poverty and the standard of life. In Appendix F, I have printed a few typical specimens which may give some idea of the income and expenses of several different kinds of family. Any attempt at averaging or calculating proportions of income spent on different objects by different classes is out of the question: for such work, much more intensive enquiries over smaller areas would be necessary.

Enquiring officers were asked to state the number of days worked in the year, as well as the number of workers, but this was not done in all cases. They were also asked to estimate the proportions of the population living greatly above and greatly below the average standard. The answers vary greatly, where they have been given at all, and it is scarcely worth while quoting them.

Certain points, however, do emerge by a general scrutiny of all the budgets sent in and from the accompanying reports. For instance, a very large number show loans on the income side, and this is often the case even when old loans are still outstanding. Many of the budgets are made to balance only by loans, and many do not balance at all: this may of course be due in many cases to the fact that cultivators and other workers do not keep accounts and sometimes cannot remember their income and expenditure for a week—far less for a month or a year. But it must also be due in many cases to real poverty, and the lack of luxury revealed on the expenditure side in many cases confirms this.

It will be noticed that the coal miner's budget, No. 11, balances and includes several comforts which can be bought with good pay,—but the pay is earned by 3 workers in the family.

The tea-garden coolie's monthly budget, No. 5, also balances, with less of luxury than the coal miner's—but here also both man and woman work.

The Sylhet clerk's budget, No. 15, is an instance of how an extremely economical small middle-class family can live on Rs. 30 a month,—but there is little money for anything but bare necessities. The Nowgong middle-class family, No. 16, on the other hand, does not balance its budget, on Rs. 68 a month pay, but here there is no stinting of comfort, and the number of members is double of the Sylhet family's.

Another point shown in the budgets is the small cost of salt. From the objections which are raised to the salt tax it might be supposed that salt was a costly item. Neverthless in very few budgets does the total expenditure on salt exceed 1 anna a month per head, and in many cases it is in the region of 8 annas a year per head.

In the hills, families are generally self-contained and on the average live far more in comfort, with fewer outside needs, than do the people of the plains. In no hill district is there any considerable proportion usually below the poverty line. On the other hand, if crops fail, hill villages may live in want for a year and have to supplement their scanty stock of rice by eating jungle roots, as has been the case recently in some Lushai villages.

Taxation.

Taxes cannot be said to be heavy. There is very little indirect taxation. The total amount of direct taxes, central, provincial and local borne by the people of Assam (excluding Manipur) last year was about Rs. 124 lakhs, as shown in the provincial budget statement ; this works out at an average annual taxation total of about Rs. 7-12 per household, or one rupee ten annas per head of the population. I have not included the latest duties on imported cloth and yarn in this estimate : if this be done the household figure may go to Rs. 10 or more and the individual average to over Rs. 2 per annum.

Average Income.

The average income of the people cannot be estimated with any exactitude in terms of money in an agricultural country. By a rough calculation from the outturns of crops grown and the other productions of the province in 1921-22, with the prices prevailing at the principal marts, it might be estimated at the equivalent of about Rs. 56 per head per annum, but in any case the cultivators who form the great bulk of the population are less dependent on money rates than on the amount of outturn of rice and other crops for their food supply. In Appendix G I have shown the calculation. Where I have made estimates (*i.e.*, in cases other than those of principal crops whose outturn is estimated by the Director of Agriculture), I have put them at an extremely low figure for safety ; but perhaps few will deny that the values of cloth, silk, fish and other secondary products of the province are always a good deal greater than the sums I have noted. It must never be forgotten, however, that the cultivators have actually no such *money* income as shown : their income is mainly produce.

LIBRARY

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

General distribution by occupation.

Class, sub-class and order.	Number per 10,000 of total population.		Percentage in each class, sub-class and order of	
	Persons supported.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	Dependants.
1	2	3	4	5
ALL OCCUPATIONS	*10,000*	*4,614*	*46*	*54*
A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS.	**8.947**	**4,051**	**45**	**55**
I.—EXPLOITATION OF ANIMALS AND VEGETATION.	*8,934*	*4,041*	*45*	*55*
I. Pasture and Agriculture	8,859	4,007	45	55
(*a*) Ordinary cultivation	7,614	3,123	41	59
(*b*) Growers of special products, etc. ...	1,182	836	71	29
(*c*) Forestry	6	4	61	39
(*d*) Raising of Farm stock	56	43	78	22
(*e*) Raising of small animals	1	1	81	19
2. Fishing and Hunting	75	34	45	55
II.—EXPLOITATION OF MINERALS	13	10	75	25
3. Mines	12	9	76	24
4. Quarries of hard rocks	1	1	68	32
5. Salt, etc..	...	...	65	35
B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.	**679**	**367**	**54**	**46**
III.—INDUSTRY	244	148	61	39
6. Textiles	61	53	86	14
7. Hides, Skins, Hard Materials, etc. ...	2	1	40	60
8. Wood	45	26	57	43
9. Metals	13	5	43	57
10. Ceramics	19	11	58	42
11. Chemical Products properly so called, etc.	3	1	48	52
12. Food Industries	26	16	64	36
13. Industries of the dress and the Toilet ...	42	20	47	53
14. Furniture Industries	1	...	30	70
15. Building Industries	7	3	48	52
16. Construction and Means of Transport ...	1	1	47	53
17. Production and transmission of Physical Forces (heat, light, electricity, etc.)	...	...	72	28
18. Other Miscellaneous and undefined Industries.	24	11	45	55
IV.—TRANSPORT	99	61	62	38
20. Transport by water	22	13	56	44
21. Transport by road	53	35	67	33
22. Transport by rail	18	10	59	41
23. Post Office, Telegraph, Telephone services	6	3	46	54

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

General distribution by occupation—concluded.

Class, sub-class and order.	Number per 10,000 of total population.		Percentage in each class, sub-class and order of	
	Persons supported.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	Dependants.
1	2	3	4	5
V.—Trade	336	158	47	53
24. Banks, Establishments of credits exchange and Insurance	6	2	41	59
25. Brokerage, Commissions and export ...	1	...	29	71
26. Trade in Textile	26	16	60	40
27. Trade in skins, leathers, furs ...	9	4	45	55
28. Trade in wood	8	4	53	47
29. Trade in Metals...	3	2	50	50
30. Trade in pottery, bricks, tiles ...	1	1	35	65
31. Trade in Chemical products	2	1	46	54
32. Hotel, Cafes, restaurants	2	1	52	48
33. Other trade in food-stuffs	230	104	45	55
34. Trade in clothing and toilet articles ...	1	1	48	52
35. Trade in furniture	8	3	41	59
36. Trade in building materials	1	...	51	49
37. Trade in means of transport	3	2	58	42
38. Trade in fuel	2	1	43	57
39. Trade in articles of luxuries and those pertaining to letters and the Arts and the Sciences	10	5	48	52
40. Trade of other sorts	23	11	51	49
C.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS.	**165**	**64**	**39**	**61**
VI.—Public Force	22	11	51	49
41. Army	1	1	69	31
42. Navy	...	...	...	100
44. Police	21	10	50	50
VII.—(45) Public Administration ...	20	7	35	65
VIII.—Professions and Liberal Arts ...	123	46	37	63
46. Religion	67	23	34	66
47. Law	8	2	27	73
48. Medicine	16	6	38	62
49. Instruction	20	9	44	56
50. Letter and sciences	12	6	49	51
D.—MISCELLANEOUS	**209**	**132**	**63**	**37**
IX.—(51) Persons living on their income	5	2	38	62
X.—(52) Domestic Service	65	46	71	29
XI.—(53) Insufficiently Described Occupation	57	31	54	46
XII.—Unproductive	82	53	65	35
54. Inmates of jails, etc.	4	4	100	
55. Beggars, Vagrants, Prostitutes ...	78	49	63	37
56. Other unclassified non-productive Industries	...	...	44	56

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Distribution by occupation in natural division.

Occupation.	Number per mille of total population supported in		
	Brahmaputra Valley.	Surma Valley.	Hills.
1	2	3	4
ALL OCCUPATIONS	*1,000*	*1,000*	*1,000*
A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS ...	**908**	**879**	**892**
I.—EXPLOITATION OF ANIMALS AND VEGETATION ...	906	879	890
II.—EXPLOITATION OF MINERALS	·2	...	2
B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.	**56**	**78**	**81**
III.—INDUSTRY	18	25	46
IV.—TRANSPORT	10	9	11
V.—TRADE	28	44	24
C.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS.	**13**	**21**	**17**
VI.—PUBLIC FORCE	2	2	5
VII.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	2	2	3
VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS	9	17	9
D.—MISCELLANEOUS	**23**	**22**	**10**
IX.—PERSONS LIVING PRINCIPALLY ON THEIR INCOME ...	8	...	1
X.—DOMESTIC SERVICE	...	6	5
XI.—INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED OCCUPATIONS ...	7	5	2
XII.—UNPRODUCTIVE	8	11	2

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Distribution of the agricultural, industrial, commercial and professional population in Natural Divisions and Districts.

District and Natural Division.	Agriculture. [Order 1(a) 1(b)].				Industry (Including Mines). Sub-classes II and III.			
	Population supported by Agriculture.	Proportion of agricultural population per 1,000 of district population.	Percentage on agricultural population of		Population supported by Industry.	Proportion of industrial population per 1,000 of district population.	Percentage on industrial population of	
			Actual workers.	Dependants.			Actual workers.	Dependants.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASSAM	7,027,871	880	45	55	205,226	26	61	39
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	3,444,440	893	50	50	77,039	20	62	38
Goalpara	679,447	891	37	63	14,864	19	57	43
Kamrup	638,024	837	38	62	20,244	26	54	46
Darrang	433,655	907	54	46	6,720	14	64	36
Nowgong	364,941	917	46	54	5,865	15	73	27
Sibsagar	767,552	932	60	40	9,622	12	58	42
Lakhimpur	526,761	896	64	36	17,811	30	69	31
Sadiya	31,965	809	38	62	1,569	40	65	35
Balipara	2,095	549	68	32	344	90	96	4
SURMA VALLEY ...	2,626,186	864	35	65	75,832	25	50	50
Cachar Plains	452,526	904	44	56	10,652	21	59	41
Sylhet	2,173,660	855	33	67	65,180	26	48	52
HILLS	957,245	876	56	44	52,355	48	78	22
Garo Hills	173,076	966	57	43	906	5	54	46
North Cachar Hills ...	23,942	895	58	42	228	9	53	48
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	200,781	825	58	42	9,497	39	59	41
Naga Hills	1,54,572	960	64	36	1,719	11	78	22
Lushai Hills	92,915	944	57	43	407	4	54	46
Manipur	311,959	812	49	51	39,598	103	84	16

District and Natural Division.	Commerce including transport. Sub-classes IV and V.				Professions. Sub-class VIII.				Others.			
	Population supported by Commerce.	Proportion of commercial population per 1,000 of district population.	Percentage on commercial population of		Population supported by professions.	Proportion of professional population per 1,000 of district population.	Percentage on professional population of		Population supported by Others.	Proportion of other occupational population per 1,000 of district population.	Percentage on other occupational population.	
			Actual workers.	Dependants.			Actual workers.	Dependants.			Actual workers.	Dependants.
1	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
ASSAM	347,805	43	50	50	98,506	12	37	63	310,838	39	60	40
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.	147,922	38	56	44	36,166	10	39	61	150,325	39	65	35
Goalpara ...	34,378	45	58	42	5,132	7	43	57	28,702	38	62	38
Kamrup... ...	45,697	60	49	51	15,365	20	31	69	43,341	57	59	41
Darrang... ...	12,366	26	63	37	2,158	5	45	55	23,036	48	72	28
Nowgong ...	13,099	33	63	37	2,458	6	38	62	11,558	29	73	27
Sibsagar ...	20,063	24	61	39	6,298	8	41	59	19,662	24	69	31
Lakhimpur ...	19,587	33	58	42	4,295	7	55	45	19,841	34	65	35
Sadiya	2,724	69	72	28	451	11	47	53	2,822	71	60	40
Balipara ...	8	2	100	...	9	2	56	44	1,363	357	76	24
SURMA VALLEY ...	161,690	53	42	58	52,701	17	34	66	125,416	41	53	47
Cachar Plains ...	16,325	33	58	42	5,423	11	43	57	15,558	31	60	40
Sylhet	145,365	57	40	60	47,278	19	33	67	109,858	43	52	48
HILLS	38,193	35	64	36	9,639	9	48	52	35,097	32	61	39
Garo Hills ...	2,302	13	65	35	347	2	62	38	2,509	14	70	30
North Cachar Hills...	1,903	71	61	39	116	4	72	28	555	21	62	38
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	14,671	60	58	42	2,624	11	50	50	15,690	65	66	34
Naga Hills ...	1,381	8	78	22	451	3	61	39	2,837	18	62	38
Lushai Hills ...	1,125	12	53	47	573	6	37	63	3,386	34	43	57
Manipur ...	16,811	44	69	31	5,528	15	46	54	10,120	26	56	44

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

ccupations combined with agriculture (where agriculture is subsidiary occupation).

Occupation.	Number per mille who are partially agriculturists.			
	Province.	Brahma-putra Valley.	Surma Valley.	Hills.
1	2	3.	4	5
ALL OCCUPATIONS	*29*	*25*	*45*	*13*
A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS	**22**	**23**	**27**	**12**
I.—EXPLOITATION OF ANIMALS AND VEGETATION	22	23	15	9
1. Pasture and Agriculture	*20*	*22*	*22*	*9*
(*b*) Growers of special products and market gardening.	94	85	97	307
6. (*a*) Tea	89	85	96	...
7. Fruit, flower, betel, etc., growers	297	136	250	307
(*d*) Raising of farm stocks	33	34	50	19
11. Cattle and buffalo breeders	99	90	272.	59
2. Fishing and hunting	*204*	*71*	*302*	*54*
17. Fishing	205	71	305	54
II.—EXPLOITATION OF MINERALS	18	16	47	20
B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.	**82**	**42**	**162**	**28**
III.—INDUSTRY	72	50	150	20
6. Textiles	*36*	*99*	*125*	*9*
8. Wood	*79*	*33*	*141*	*46*
9. Metals	*186*	*81*	*319*	*209*
13. Industries of the dress and the toilet ...	*157*	*48*	*284*	*56*
IV.—TRANSPORT	59	30	136	42
V.—TRADE	101	44	177	41
26. Trade in textile	*49*	*15*	*115*	*19*
28. Trade in wood	*85*	*37*	*93*	*116*
33. Other trade in food stuffs	*121*	*47*	*200*	*52*
C.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS.	**157**	**99**	**241**	**39**
VI.—PUBLIC FORCE	74	31	24	61
VII.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	121	78	199	118
VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS ...	186	127	246	140
D.—MISCELLANEOUS	**29**	**17**	**47**	**33**
IX.—PERSONS LIVING ON THEIR INCOME ...	129	95	344	96
X.—DOMESTIC SERVICE	31	14	57	33
XI.—INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED OCCUPATOINS ...	59	32	125	37
XII.—UNPRODUCTIVE	8	50	11	1

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Occupations combined with agriculture (where agriculture is the principal occupation).

Landlords (Rent-receivers).		Cultivators (Rent-payers).		Farm servants and field labourers.	
Subsidiary occupation.	No. per 10,000 who follow it.	Subsidiary occupation.	No. per 10,000 who follow it.	Subsidiary occupation.	No. per 10,000 who follow it.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Total	**2,892**	**Total ... ...**	**1,250**	**Total ... ...**	**797**
Rent-payers ...	720	Rent-receivers ...	34	Rent-receivers ...	14
Agricultural labourers ...	63	Agricultural labourers ...	29	Rent-payers ...	163
Government servants of all kinds.	106	General labourers ...	202	General labourers ...	141
Money lenders and grain dealers.	181	Government servants of all kinds.	15	Village watchmen ...	8
Other traders of all kinds	488	Money lenders and grain dealers.	12	Cattle breeders and milkmen.	8
Others	1,334	Other traders of all kinds.	271	Fishermen and boatmen	48
		Fishermen and boatmen	127	Traders of all kinds ...	24
		Cattle breeders and milkmen.	15	Weavers	46
		Village watchmen ...	12	Others	345
		Weavers	119		
		Carpenters	19		
		Potters	13		
		Blacksmiths ...	8		
		Others	374		

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Occupations of females by sub-classes and selected orders and groups.

Group No.	Occupation.	Number of actual workers.		Number of females per 1,000 males.
		Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5
	Total	**2,541,027**	**1,145,771**	**451**
	A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS ...	2,225,136	1,011,820	455
	I.—EXPLOITATION OF ANIMALS AND VEGETATION ...	2,218,746	1,010,280	455
	1.—Pasture and agriculture	*2,194,456*	*1,007,466*	*459*
	(*a*) Ordinary Cultivation	**1,814,675**	**680,504**	**375**
1	Income from rent of agricultural land	28,107	2,986	106
2	Ordinary cultivators	1,727,781	650,369	376
4	Farm servants	3,315	817	246
5	Field labourers	51,931	26,332	507
	(*b*) Growers of special products and market gardening	**345,188**	**323,323**	**937**
6	Tea, coffee, cinchona, rubber and indigo plantations ...	335,986	315,833	940
7	Fruit, flower, vegetable, betel, vine, areca-nut, etc., growers.	9,202	7,490	814
	(*c*) Forestry	**2,754**	**247**	**90**
9	Wood-cutters, fire-wood, catechu, rubber, etc., collectors and charcoal burners	1,728	247	143
	(*d*) Raising of farm stock	**31,666**	**2,939**	**93**
11	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers ...	7,418	927	125
12	Sheep, goat and pig breeders	657	104	158
14	Herdsmen, shepherd, goatherds, etc.	23,580	1,908	81
	(*e*) Raising of small animals	**173**	**453**	**2,618**
15	Birds, bees, etc.	130	70	538
16	Silk worms	43	383	8,907
	2.—Fishing and Hunting	*24,290*	*2,814*	*116*
17	Fishing	24,128	2,767	115
18	Hunting	162	47	290
	II.—EXPLOITATION OF MINERALS	6,390	1,540	241
	3.—Mines	*6,031*	*1,441*	*239*
19	Coal mines	4,360	954	219
20	Petroleum wells	1,670	487	292
	4.—Quarries of hard rocks	*303*	*15*	*50*
	5.—Salt, etc.	*56*	*84*	*1,500*

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Occupations of females by sub-classes, and selected orders and groups—continued.

Group No.	Occupation.	Number of actual workers.		Number of females per 1,000 males.
		Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5
	B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.	194,827	98,629	506
	III.—INDUSTRY	55,742	62,421	1,120
	6.—Textiles	*1,899*	*40,191*	*21,164*
26	Cotton spinning	77	4,748	61,662
27	Cotton sizing and weaving	1,594	32,947	20,669
28	Jute spinning, pressing and weaving	70	385	5,500
29	Rope, twine and string	81	484	5,975
34	Silk spinners	2	237	118,500
35	Silk weavers	49	289	5,898
38	Lace, crepe, embroideries described textile industries ...	4	1,047	261,750
	7.—Hides, skins and hard materials from animal Kingdom.	*542*	*24*	*44*
	8.—Wood	*16,390*	*4,198*	*256*
43	Sawyers	3,630	681	188
45	Basket makers and other industries of woody materials, including leaves and thatchers and builders working with bamboo, reeds or similar materials.	5,557	3,282	591
	9.—Metals	*4,319*	*77*	*18*
	10.—Ceramics	*4,726*	*3,950*	*836*
55	Potters and earthen pipe and bowl makers ...	3,896	3,768	967
	11.—Chemical products properly so called and analogous.	*844*	*283*	*335*
61	Manufacture and refining of vegetable oils ...	779	209	268
	12.—Food industry	*2,315*	*10,816*	*4,672*
65	Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders ...	496	9,046	18,238
	13.—Industries of dress and the toilet ...	*13,836*	*1,866*	*135*
79	Other industries pertaining to dress, gloves, socks, gaiters, belts, buttons, umbrellas, canes, etc.	258	311	1,205
80	Washing, cleaning and dyeing	2,552	930	364
	14.—Furniture industries	*128*	*84*	*656*
	15.—Building industries	*2,332*	*230*	*99*
89	Builders (other than buildings made of bamboo or similar materials), painters, decorators of houses, tilers, plumbers, etc.	110	62	564
	18.—Other miscellaneous and undefined industries ...	*7,884*	*702*	*89*
	IV.—TRANSPORT	45,136	3,771	84
	20.—Transport by water	*10,148*	*36*	*4*
	21.—Transport by road	*24,826*	*3,249*	*131*
117	Porters and messengers	4,723	1,723	365
	22.—Transport by rail	*7,908*	*486*	*61*

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Occupations of females by sub-classes, and selected orders and groups—continued.

Group No.	Occupation.	Number of actual workers.		Number of females per 1,000 males.
		Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5
	V.—TRADE	93,949	32,437	345
	24.—*Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance.*	*1,578*	*342*	*217*
	26.—*Textiles*	*6,555*	*6,194*	*945*
	28.—*Trade in wood*	*1,914*	*1,292*	*675*
	30.—*Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles*	*184*	*164*	*891*
	31.—*Trade in chemical products*	*655*	*224*	*342*
	33.—*Other trade in food stuffs*	*63,260*	*19,912*	*315*
134	Sellers of sweetmeats, sugar, *gur* and molasses ...	800	152	190
135	Cardamom, betel-leaf, vegetables, fruit and areca-nut sellers.	4,608	4,012	871
136	Grain and pulse dealers	7,058	5,212	738
137	Tobacco, opium, *ganja*, etc., sellers	702	144	206
138	Dealers in sheep, goats and pigs	123	28	228
139	Dealers in hay, grass and fodder	42	11	262
	34.—*Trade in clothing and toilet articles*... ...	*404*	*29*	*72*
	35.—*Trade in furniture*	*1,965*	*783*	*398*
141	Trade in furniture, carpets, curtains and bedding ...	379	186	491
142	Hardware, cooking utensils, procelain, crockery, glass-ware, bottles, articles for gardening, etc.	1,586	597	376
	36.—*Trade in building materials.*			
	Trade in building materials other than bricks, tiles and woody materials (stone, plaster, cement, sand, thatch, etc).	195	91	467
	37.—*Trade in means of transport*	*1,387*	*91*	*66*
	38.—*Trade in fuel.*			
	(Dealers in firewood, charcoal, cowdung, etc.) ...	569	196	344
	39.—*Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences.*	*2,809*	*960*	*342*
149	Dealers in common bangles, bead necklaces, fans, small articles, toys, hunting and fishing tackles, flowers, etc.	2,574	951	369
	40.—*Trade of other sorts*	*7,253*	*1,862*	*257*
152	General store keepers and shopkeepers otherwise unspecified.	6,735	1,182	168
153	Itinerant traders, pedlars, hawkers, etc.	182	719	3,951
	C.—Public Administration and liberal arts ...	49,375	1,883	38
	VII.—(ORDER 45)—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION ...	5,540	75	14

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Occupations of females by sub-classes, and selected orders and groups—concluded.

Group No.	Occupation.	Number of actual workers.		Number of females per 1,000 males.
		Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5
	VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS ...	34,725	1,803	52
	46.—*Religion*	*17,280*	*737*	*43*
	48.—*Medicine*	*4,593*	*320*	*70*
172	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc.	1,041	225	216
	49.—Instruction...	*6,580*	*576*	*88*
	D.—MISCELLANEOUS	71,689	33,439	466
	IX.—(ORDER 51)—PERSONS LIVING ON THEIR INCOME.			
	(Proprietors other than of agricultural land, fund and scholarship holders and pensioners).	1,240	105	85
	X.—(ORDER 52)—DOMESTIC SERVICE	29,101	7,791	268
181	Cooks, water-carriers, doorkeepers, watchmen and other in-door servants.	27,261	7,781	285
	XI.—(ORDER 53)—INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED OCCUPATIONS.			
	(General terms which do not indicate a definite occupation).	21,703	2,893	133
187	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified ...	2,920	1,961	672
	XII.—UNPRODUCTIVE	19,645	22,650	1,153
	55.—Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes	*16,476*	*22,519*	*1,367*
189	Beggars, vagrants, witches, wizards, etc. ...	16,472	21,844	1,326
190	Procurers and prostitutes	4	675	1,68,750

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Selected Occupations, 1921, 1911 *and* 1901.

Group No.	Occupation.	Population supported in 1921.	Population supported in 1911.	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation in 1921-1911.	Percentage of variation in 1911-1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	I.—EXPLOITATION OF ANIMALS AND VEGETATION.	7,138,117	6,178,391	5,261,582	+ 15·5	+ 17·2
	1.—*Pasture and agriculture*	*7,078,000*	*6,077,685*	*5,184,087*	+ *16·4*	+ *17·2*
	(*a*) Ordinary cultivation	6,083,272	5,323,380	4,529,025	+ 14·3	+ 17·5
1	Income from rent of agricultural land.	106,781	137,106	52,571	— 22·1	+ 160·8
2	Ordinary cultivators ...	5,825,739	5,092,771	4,380,771	+ 14·4	+ 16·3
4	Farm servants	140,733	84,922	92,176	+ 65·8	— 7·9
5	Field labourers					
	(*b*) Growers of special products and market gardening.	944,599	702,793	631,259	+ 34·4	+ 11·3
6	Tea, coffee, cinchona, rubber and indigo.	916,609	675,360	629,907	+ 35·7	+ 7·2
	(*c*) Forestry ...	4,888	4,099	3,465	+ 19·2	+ 18·3
	(*d*) Raising of farm stock	44,468	47,278	20,239	— 5·9	+ 133·6
11	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers.	14,152	18,819	11,086*	— 24·8	+ 69·8
	(*e*) Raising of small animals.	773	135	99	+ 47·3	— 36·4
	2.—*Fishing and hunting* ...	*60,117*	*100,706*	*77,495*	— *40·3*	+ *30·0*
17	Fishing	59,630	100,102	77,155	— 40·4	+ 29·7
	II.—EXPLOITATION OF MINERALS.	10,552	6,523	3,495	+ 61·8	+ 86·6
	3.—*Mines*	*9,868*	*5,122*	*2,199*	+ *92·7*	+ *132·9*
22	4.—*Quarries of hard rocks* ...	*469*	*680*	*667*	— *31·0*	+ *1·9*
	5.—*Salt, etc*	*215*	*721*	*629*	— *70·2*	+ *14·6*
	III.—INDUSTRY	194,674	216,624	200,284	— 10·1	+ 8·2
	6.—*Textiles*	*49,097*	*59,419*	*58,275*	— *17·4*	+ *2·0*
25	Cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing.	23	46	3,276	— 50·0	— 98·6
26	Cotton spinning ...	45,493	56,295	53,530	— 19·2	+ 5·2
27	Cotton sizing and weaving ...					
34	Silk spinner	900	1,717	568	— 47·6	+ 202·3
35	Silk weaver					
	7.—*Hides, skins, and hard materials from the animal kingdom.*	*1,403*	*1,432*	*1,071*	— *2·0*	+ *33·7*
	8.—*Wood*	*36,110*	*34,029*	*28,203*	+ *6·1*	— *20·7*
	9.—*Metals*	*10,310*	*13,248*	*12,022*	— *22·2*	+ *10·2*

N. B.—Figures of 1901 marked with an asterisk are approximate.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Selected Occupations, 1921, 1911 *and* 1901—continued.

Group No.	Occupation.	Population supported in 1921.	Population supported in 1911.	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation in 1921-1911.	Percentage of variation in 1911-1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49	Workers in brass, copper and bell metal.	2,274	4,957	4,207	— 54·1	+ 17·8
	10.—*Ceramics*	*14,981*	*16,795*	*12,690*	— *10·8*	+ *32·3*
	11.—*Chemical products properly so called, and analogous.*	*2,328*	*5,426*	*3,446*	— *57·1*	+ *57·5*
	12.—*Food industry* ...	*20,414*	*19,371*	*23,965*	+ *5·4*	— *19·2*
65	Rice pounders and husker and flour grinders.	14,251	13,637	17,721	+ 4·5	— 23·0
	13.—*Industries of dress and the toilet.*	*33,569*	*36,090*	*32,256*	— *7·5*	+ *11·9*
	14.—*Furniture industries* ...	*715*	*73*	*80*	+ *879·5*	— *8·8*
	15.—*Building industries* ...	*5,372*	*8,958*	*7,055*	— *40·0*	+ *27·0*
	16.—*Construction of means of transport.*	*1,071*	*640*	*2,122*	+*67·3*	—*69·8*
93	17.—*Production and transmission of physical forces heat, light, electricity, motive power, etc.*	*32*	*4*	*1*	+*700*	+*300*
	18.—*Other Miscellaneous and undefined Industries.*	*19,272*	*21,139*	*19,098*	—*8·8*	+*10·7*
	IV.—TRANSPORT... ...	**79,434**	**76,600**	**69,636**	**+3·7**	**+10·0**
	20.—*Transport by water* ...	*18,120*	*23,841*	*13,692*	—*23·9*	+ *74·1*
	21.—*Transport by road* ...	*42,145*	*34,268*	*22,628*	+*23*	+ *51·4*
	22.—*Transport by rail* ...	*14,297*	*13,477*	*30,044*	+*6·1*	— *55·1*
	V.—TRADE	**268,371**	**244,558**	**247,462**	**+9 7**	**— 1·2**
121	24.—*Banks, establishment of credit, exchanges and Insurance.*	*4,722*	*6,408*	*3,015*	—*26·3*	+*112·5*
122	25.—*Brokerage, commission and export.*	*590*	*413*	*762*	+*42·9*	— *45·8*
123	26.—*Trade in textile* ...	*21,099*	*15,323*	*11,923*	+*37·7*	+ *28·5*
124	27.—*Trade in skins, leather, and furs.*	*7,064*	*8,049*	*5,108**	—*12·2*	+ *57·6*
125	28.—*Trade in wood* ...	*6,066*	*3,519*	*3,623**	+*72·4*	— *2·9*
126	29.—*Trade in metals* ...	*2,454*	*659*	*192*	+*272·4*	+*243·2*
127	30.—*Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles.*	*984*	*3,208*	*5,865*	—*72·4*	— *45·3*
128	31.—*Trade in chemical products*	*1,913*	*1,811*	*562*	+ *5·6*	+*222·2*
	32.—*Cafes, restaurants, etc.* ...	*1,771*	*1,921*	*2,048*	— *7·8*	— *6·2*

N.B.—Figures of 1901 marked with an asterisk are approximate.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Selected Occupations, 1921, 1911 *and* 1901—concluded.

Group No.	Occupation.	Population supported in 1921.	Population supported in 1911.	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation in 1921-1911.	Percentage of variation in 1911-1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	33.—*Other trade in food stuffs*	*183,320*	*163,089*	*165,415*	*+12·4*	*— 1·4*
131	Fish dealers	77,939	60,234	77,552	+29·4	— 22·3
133	Sellers of milk, butter, *ghee*, poultry, eggs.	15,006	11,043	6,614*	+35·9	+ 67·0
	34.—*Trade in clothing and toilet articles.*	*903*	*1,661*	*708*	*—45·6*	*+134·6*
	35.—*Trade in furniture* ...	*6,696*	*3,800*	*7,062*	*+76·2*	*— 46·2*
	36.—*Trade in building materials*	*557*	*2,336*	*2,606*	*—76·2*	*— 10·4*
	37. *Trade in means of transport*	*2,530*	*2,798*	*1,662**	*— 9·6*	*+68·4*
	38.—*Trade in fuel* ...	*1,766*	*2,594*	*2,076**	*—31·9*	*+ 25·0*
	39. —*Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences.*	*7,929*	*9,555*	*2,422*	*—17·0*	*+294·5*
	40.—*Trade of other sorts* ...	*18,007*	*17,414*	*32,413*	*+ 3·4*	*— 46·3*
	VI.—PUBLIC FORCE ...	**17,852**	**18,885**	**19,576**	**— 5·5**	**— 3·5**
	41.—*Army*	*832*	*3,122*	*5,448*	*—73·4*	*— 42·7*
	44 —*Police*	*17,019*	*15,763*	*14,128*	*+ 7·9*	*+ 11·6*
	VII.—ORDER 45)—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.	**15,906**	**15,032**	**17,676**	**+ 5·8**	**— 15·0**
	VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS.	**98,506**	**92,915**	**75,126**	**+ 6·1**	**+ 23·7**
	46.—*Religion*	*53,410*	*55,289*	*46,890*	*— 3·4*	*+ 17·9*
	47.—*Law*	*6,029*	*5,118*	*3,160*	*+17·8*	*+ 62·0*
169	Lawyers of all kinds including *kazis*, law agents and *muktiars*.	3,789	2,586	2,064	+46·5	+ 25·3
	48.—*Medicine*	*13,072*	*10,886*	*8,966*	*+20·1*	*+ 21·4*
	49.—*Instruction* ...	*16,141*	*12,357*	*8,148*	*+30·6*	*+ 51·7*
	50.—*Letters and arts and sciences.*	*9,854*	*9,265*	*7,962*	*+ 6·4*	*+ 16·4*
	IX.—(ORDER 51)—PERSONS LIVING ON THEIR INCOME ...	**3,538**	**3,206**	**2,649**	**+10·4**	**+21·0**
	X.—(ORDER 52)—DOMESTIC SERVICE	**52,171**	**38,539**	**51,050**	**+35·4**	**—24·5**
	XI.—(ORDER 53)—INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED OCCUPATIONS	**45,693**	**97,701**	**97,175**	**—53·2**	**+0·5**
	XII.—UNPRODUCTIVE ...	**65,432**	**70,883**	**80,632**	**— 7·7**	**—12·1**
	54.—*Inmates of Jails, Asylums and Alms houses* ...	*3,293*	*2,256*	*1,767*	*+45·9*	*+27·7*
	55.—*Beggars, Vagrants, Prostitutes*	*62,121*	*68,627*	*78,865**	*— 9·5*	*—13·0*

N.B.—Figures of 1901 marked with an asterisk are approximate.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.

(1) *Number of persons employed on the 18th March 1921 on Railways Department.*

Class of persons employed.	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indians.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
Railways.			
TOTAL PERSONS EMPLOYED	127	15,115	
Persons directly employed	*127*	*10,976*	
Officers	32	4	
Subordinates drawing more than Rs. 75 per mensem ...	76	197	
„ „ from Rs. 20 to 75 „ ...	19	2,654	
„ „ under Rs. 20 „ ...	...	8,121	
Persons indirectly employed	...	*4,139*	
Contractors	...	111	
Contractors' regular employés	..	407	
Coolies	...	3,621	

(2) *Number of persons employed in the Post Office and Telegraph Department on 18th March 1921.*

Class of persons employed.	Post Office.		Telegraph Department.		Remarks.
	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indians.	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indians.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
TOTAL PERSONS EMPLOYED ...	7	2,876	26	425	
(1) *Post and Telegraphs.*					
Supervising officers (including Probationary Superintendents and Inspectors of post offices and Assistant and Deputy Superintendents of Telegraphs and all officers of higher rank than these)	4	11	16	1	
Postmasters, including Deputy, Assistant Sub and Branch Postmasters ..	1	262	...	...	
Signalling establishment including warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, military telegraphists and other employés	...	...	10	155*	* Of these 99 belong to combined offices.
Miscellaneous agents, School masters, Station masters, etc.	..	206	...	...	
Clerks of all kinds	1	245	...	19	
Postmen	...	678	...	...	
Skilled labour establishment including foremen, instrument-makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, mechanics, sub-inspectors, linemen and line-riders and other employés	...	2	...	121	
Unskilled labour establishment including line coolies, cable guards, batterymen, telegraph messengers and other employés	...	152	...	129	
Road establishment consisting of overseers, runners, clerks and booking agents, boatmen, syces, coachmen, bearers and others	...	1,086	...	...	
(2) *Railway Mail Service.*					
Supervising Officers (including Superintendents and Inspectors of Sorting)...	1	7	...	...	
Clerks of all kinds	...	8	...	...	
Sorters	...	106	...	...	
Mail guards, mail agents, van peons, porters, etc.	...	105	...	...	
Messengers	...	...	...	...	
Other servants	...	8	...	...	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.

Distribution of Industries and persons employed.

Industrial Establishment.	Total number of Establishments.	Districts where chiefly located.	General Distribution of Industries and persons employed.												Number of adults females employed per 1,000 adult males.	Number of children of both sexes employed per 1,000 adults.
			Number of persons employed.													
			Total.		Direction, supervision and clerical.				Skilled workmen.		Unskilled labourers.					
					Europeans and Anglo-Indians.		Indians.				Adults.		Children.			
			Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
I.—Growing of special products.	800	...	272,226	247,190	1,282	1	5,465	...	5,506	104	219,091	209,171	40,882	37,914	905	179
Tea	*795*	...	*270,701*	*246,417*	*1,270*	...	*5,420*	...	*5,394*	*104*	*217,855*	*208,512*	*40,762*	*37,801*	*907*	*179*
II.—Mines	6	...	4,223	1,126	37	...	162	...	734	...	3,026	960	264	166	242	87
III.—Textile Industries...	16	...	890	352	9	...	42	...	59	...	741	322	31	30	375	52
IV.—Wood Industries ...	35	...	1,962	451	33	...	134	...	534	47	1,133	350	128	54	216	82
V.—Metal Industries ...	7	...	418	24	6	...	16	...	241	...	137	22	18	2	55	47
VI.—Glass and earthenware Industries.	2	...	185	35	...	...	3	...	77	...	98	29	7	6	163	63
VII.—Industries connected with Chemical Products.	13	...	305	8	...	...	39	...	129	...	136	8	1	...	26	3
VIII.—Food Industries ...	3	...	45	2	1	...	8	...	23	...	11	2	2	...	47	44
IX.—Industries in connection with building.	1	...	23	5	...	...	2	...	1	...	20	5	...	...	217	...
X.—Construction in connection with means of transport communication.	14	...	1,295	9	22	...	73	...	857	...	327	9	16	...	7	12
XI.—Industries of luxury	7	...	447	6	6	...	66	2	251	2	118	2	6	...	14	13

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.

Particulars of Establishments employing 20 or more persons in 1911 and 1921.

PART A.

Details of Ownership.

Establishments employing 20 or more persons.		Industries.		
		Tea.	Coal.	Rice and Oil Mills.
		2	3	4
Total Establishment	1921 ...	782	4	11
	1911 ...	*609*	*6*	*4*
(i) Directed by Government or Local Authorities.	1921 ...	...	...	...
	1911 ...	...	..	...
(ii) Directed by Registered companies ...	1921 ...	629	4	...
	1911 ...	*506*	*6*	*1*
(iii) Owned by private persons—				
(*a*) European or Anglo-Indian ...	1921 ...	55	...	...
	1911 ...	*55*	...	...
(*b*) Indian	1921 ...	98	...	11
	1911 ...	*48*	...	*3*
(*c*) Others	1921 ...	...	...	...
	1911 ...	...	...	...

PART B.

Details of Establishment

Establishments employing 20 or more persons.		Industries.				
		All Industries.	Growing of special products.	Collieries.	Petroleum.	Wood Industries.
1		2	3	4	5	6
Number of persons employed	1921 ...	530,435	519,225	3,158	2,087	2,106
	1911 ...	*501,606*	*493,761*	*2,810*	*1,010*	*1,172*
(*a*) Directed by Supervision and clerical.	1921 ...	7,325	6,720	81	106	134
	1911 ...	*5,318*	*5,062*	*32*	*47*	*51*
(*b*) Skilled workmen ...	1921 ...	8,237	5,607	409	319	340
	1911...	*7,258*	*5,322*	*313*	*260*	*158*
(*c*) Unskilled labour ...	1921 ...	514,873	506,898	2,668	1,662	1,632
	1911...	*489,030*	*483,377*	*2,465*	*703*	*963*
(i) Adult women per 1,000 adult men.	1921 ...	879	905	194	344	260
	1911 ...	*914*	*932*	*342*	*359*	*365*
(ii) Children (of both sexes) per 1,000 adults.	1921 ...	176	179	77	108	95
	1911 ...	*222*	*225*	*18*	*29*	*76*

SUBSIDIARY TABLE XI.

Organization of Establishments.

Type of Organization.	Industrial Establishments.					
	Total Establishments.	Tea.	Collieries.	Saw mills.	Engineering workshop.	Rice and oil mills
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
TOTAL ...	*852*	*795*	*4*	*31*	*7*	*15*
1. *Under the Local Government or Local Authority*	*2*	...	...	...	*2*	...
2. *Registered Companies* ...	*647*	*632*	*4*	*9*	*2*	...
(*a*) With European or Anglo-Indian Directors.	573	559	4	8	2	...
(*b*) With Indian Directors.	68	68	...	...	...	...
(*c*) With Directors of different races.	6	5	...	1	...	...
3. *Privately owned* ...	*203*	*163*	...	*22*	*3*	*15*
(*a*) By Europeans or Anglo-Indians.	56	55	...	...	1	...
(*b*) By Indians ...	147	108	...	22	2	15
(*c*) By joint owners of different races.	...	...	...	...	...	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE XII.

Proportional distribution of adult women and of children of each sex in different Industries.

Women and Children.	Total No.	Ratio of adult women per 10,000 of the total adult female population and that of children per mille of their total under each of the Principal Industries.										
		I—Growing of special products.	II—Mines.	III—Textile Industries.	IV—Wood Industries.	V—Metal Industries.	VI—Glass and earthenware Industries.	VII—Industries connected with Chemical products.	VIII—Food Industries.	IX—Industries connected with building.	X—Construction in connection with the means of Transport and communication.	XI—Industries of luxury.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Adult women	211,036	209,276	960	322	397	23	29	8	2	5	9	6
	10,000	*9,917*	*46*	*15*	*19*	*1*	*1*	...	...	...	*1*	...
Children	79,527	78,796	430	61	182	20	13	1	2	...	16	6
	1,000	*991*	*6*	*1*	*2*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Male	41,355	40,892	264	31	128	18	7	1	2	...	16	6
	520	*514*	*4*	*1*	*1*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Female	38,172	37,914	166	30	54	2	6	...	...	...	...	...
	480	*477*	*2*	...	*1*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

N.B.—Both absolute and proportional figures are given, the latter being represented by italicised figures.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE XIII.

Distribution of Power.

Type of power used.	Total Number of Industrial Establishments.	Number of Establishments under—										
		I—Growing of special products.	II—Mines.	III—Textile Industries.	IV—Wood Industries.	V—Metal Industries.	VI—Glass and earthenware Industries.	VII—Industries connected with chemical products.	VIII—Food Industries.	X—Construction in connection with the means of transport and communication.	XI—Industries of luxury.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
(*Total with Power*)	611	559	5	3	13	4	1	13	3	8	2	...
Steam	512	471	4	2	12	2	1	13	3	4	...	...
Oil	91	81	1		...	2	...	...	...	4	2	...
Water	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gas	3	3	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Electricity generated in the premises ...	2	1*	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

* In seven other gardens electricity is used for lighting purposes.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

Vital Statistics and Census figures.

(*See* paragraph 23 and Subsidiary Table V of Chap. I.)

In the ten calendar years 1911—1920 the excess of births over deaths registered in the registration areas of the province was 60,345, while the increase in natural population as recorded at the census for the same areas was 417,154. The 10-year period covered by the census is slightly different from the calendar decade, but this makes little difference for purposes of approximate calculations.

At the last census the difference between the excess of births over deaths and the census natural increase was 348,000. This time it is even more (about 357,000) and the problem is to find where the error lies, or how much of it is due to inaccuracy in the record of vital statistics in the districts.

The natural population found by the census is the actual population less the excess of living immigrants over emigrants, *i.e.*, it is those born in Assam and enumerated in or out of the province. These figures are recorded only every ten years, but many immigrants come to the province between the two census dates and die here. Figures for these appear in neither census, nor do they come into the birth statistics. But they are recorded in the death registers, and therefore we find an unnaturally large number of deaths as compared with births, and consequent distortion of the figures for comparison with census statistics.

In any area suppose that D_n immigrants come in the year n and that the specific death rate is d_n for that area or group, d being a fraction of a thousand. For tea garden immigrants we have no exact death rate for the new arrivals in any one period, but we can take the general garden death rate as an approximation : in fact this will give us a lower number of deaths than should be calculated, as the new immigrants take some time to become acclimatised.

At the end of one year the number of the original batch of immigrants will be reduced by $D_n \times d_n$, *i.e.*, it will become $D_n (1-d_n)$. At the end of the year $(n+1)$, the second year, this number again will be reduced by d_{n+1} of itself, *i.e.*, the number remaining will be now $D_n (1-d_n) (1-d_{n+1})$.

Thus, after 10 years D_n will be reduced to $D_n (1-d_n) (1-d_{n+1}) \ldots\ldots\ldots (1-d_{n+9})$.

Similarly, the immigrants who came in the second year of the decade, D_{n+1}, will be reduced to $D_{n+1} (1-d_{n+1}) (1-d_{n+2}) \ldots\ldots\ldots (1-d_{n+9})$.

The whole number of immigrants in the decade is $D = D_n + D_{n+1} + D_{n+2} + \ldots\ldots\ldots + D_{n+9}$, and after the ten years this becomes $D_{n+9} (1-d_{n+9}) + D_{n+8} (1-d_{n+8}) (1-d_{n+9}) + \ldots\ldots\ldots + \ldots\ldots\ldots + D_n (1-d_n) (1-d_{n+1}) \ldots\ldots (1-d_{n+9})$.

Now for the tea gardens we know from the annual immigrant labour returns the value of D_n, D_{n+1}, etc., and d_n, d_{n+1}, etc. Taking the year n to be 1911, summation of the above series—the calculations for which it would be tedious to reproduce—shows that the total number of new immigrants to the gardens in the decade, 768,671, is reduced by death to 644,648 ; *i.e.*, there are about 124,000 deaths in this class, who do not appear in the census returns and have never been recorded in the birth statistics of this province. The number is, of course, only an approximation, for some of the new coolies will have left the gardens after a year or two and become subject to a different death rate from the ones we have adopted.

On the other side of the balance, we have to note those who are born in Assam and registered in our vital statistics and who then leave the province and die outside it. The annual returns show 283,000 children as having left tea gardens in the ten years by transfer, desertion and discharge. Not all of these leave the province, however, and not all of them were born in Assam. If we guess the number born in Assam and going to their homes in other provinces as half of the total, or 120,000, we might take a quarter of that number, or 30,000 as the total number dying outside and not reported to us. This 30,000 tends still further to widen the gap between the census figures and the recorded vital statistics.

Next, there is an increase in the census recorded immigrants outside the tea gardens of 273,000. The great majority of these are in the plains districts subject to registration. Some are *ex*-garden coolies, but the majority are Eastern Bengal and Nepalese settlers and temporary or periodic visitors from adjoining provinces. Supposing that these came in equal numbers every year and were subjected to death rates equal on the average to the provincial rate, we should find that about 380,000 of these classes must have come altogether, and the total deaths among them would be about 104,000. Of these only the *ex*-coolies who came to the tea gardens and left within the decade should be excluded as already dealt with above. There will not be many of these, however, since most *ex*-coolies who take up land in the districts are old and not new men ; these may be neglected, as balanced by the greater mortality of new garden coolies mentioned above and not taken into our calculation. There is also an indefinite but small number of people who came from areas within the province but not under registration and die within registration areas ; these also will swell the death entries but have no corresponding birth entries.

In the result, we have 124,000 less 30,000 deaths among the new tea-garden immigrants and about 104,000 deaths among other immigrants for which there is no birth entry and no census entry either in the last or the present census year. Thus there should be on these calculations a difference of 198,000 between the vital statistics and the natural population increase recorded by the census. The actual difference (Subsidiary Table V of Chapter I) is some 357,000. The deficit of 159,000,

more or less, must be accounted for by inaccuracy in the record of the vital occurrences; it may certainly be less than this, if I have underestimated the mortality among new emigrants, for instance, or overestimated that among those who re-emigrated. But the deficit must certainly be large. The Department of Public Health has found on testing certain areas that from 2 to 10 per cent. of births and deaths are unregistered, and it is well known that births are more often omitted than deaths from the register. It is true that corrections are made by the testing agency, but the corrections are only a fraction of the total errors.

In the 10 years 1911-1920 there were recorded 1,952,760 births and 1,892,415 deaths in the area under consideration. We have only to suppose that 10 per cent. of births and 2 per cent. of deaths were omitted—an average of only about 6 per cent. of *occurrences*—and the difference is more than explained. For this would give 216,973 unrecorded births and 38,621 such deaths—difference 178,352, against the 159,000 to be accounted for.

The quantitative exposition I have given is of course open to question as the data are very poor, but it can scarcely be doubted that the great divergence of the census from the vital statistics is due to the two causes shown operating together, (1) deaths of outsiders who have come to the province in the inter-censal period and (2) unequal inaccuracy in the vital record by omission of births more often than deaths. In any case it is clear that, so long as heavy immigration continues, even if accuracy improves, the vital statistics cannot be used in Assam for any calculations of population in inter-censal years.

APPENDIX B.

*Notes on certain frontier tribes.**

I.—By Captain G. A. Nevill, I.P., Political Officer, Balipara Frontier Tract.

The Akas.

Divisions.—Among the Akas there are two main clans (Kutsun, Kovatsun) and these contain several sub-clans There are strictly neither exogamous nor endogamous divisions, but social grades exist and one sub-clan will not marry into another lower (socially) clan or sub-clan: an equal clan or a different tribe, *e.g.*, Miri, will be chosen.

The Khowsow and the Jassesow are the two highest sub-clans and the chiefs are taken from them.

The Khoas.—Living amongst the Akas and like them in dress and features (but not in language) are a people called Niggiya or Khoas. They form a labouring class and work for the Akas, but they are in no sense slaves for they are paid for their work and they live in their own villages. There are four sub-clans of the Khoas.

System of government.—Though the Akas have a chief or headman for outside dealings their government is very democratic: each freeman has an equal vote and right of speech in the councils whatever his social position.

Origin and customs.—Their traditions ascribe an eastern origin to the tribe. There are no megalithic monuments. Stones are used for seats by the Akas. The houses are always built of wood roughly squared and sometimes rudely carved, but not with the more elaborate carving found among the Daflas.

Social status is shown among the Akas, as also among the Daflas, by the size of their houses and by the amount of jewellery worn.

Natural phenomena—beliefs.—The sun and moon are regarded as female and male gods respectively (*e.g.*, Ane Dawin; Ato Polo). They are considered to have the power of peace and prosperity or the reverse, so they are propitiated with sacrifices. The marking on the moon is thought to be a big pendant worn by the god. Earthquakes are said to be caused by that very mischievous insect the mole cricket burrowing into the earth and telling the god called Phumbadege that all people on earth have died. The god shakes the earth to see if this is true: hence all the Akas shout 'we are all alive' when an earthquake is felt.

An eclipse is regarded as the result of a quarrel between a god named Tsipzibhu and the sun and moon. This god tries to eat up the sun and moon, and the phenomenon is regarded as very unlucky, portending war, disease or calamity.

Disposal of the dead.—The Akas bury their dead on the side, with the head to the north and the face to the west; the knees are bound to the chest and the hands placed just below the chin. The corpse is brought out from the side door—never from the main door. Rice beer, *dao* and personal articles are placed by the body. The grave is floored with planks and mats. It is then planked over and earth is put on. A dome of split bamboo with small cotton flags on the four sides is made to the north of the grave. A post with an arm is placed, and a basket of rice, meat, beer, etc., is hung on the arm and kept for ten days.

After death, people go under the earth and proceed westwards until they come to the place where the sun and moon set. Thence they ascend to heaven. But the souls of children dying soon after birth and of people dying unnatural deaths ascend direct to heaven without undergoing any pilgrimage under the earth.

Physical traits.—The Akas are a yellowish-brown race of decidedly Mongolian appearance. The skins of those who are habitually exposed to the sun are quite brown, but many of the women are a very pale yellow and often have a reddish tinge on their cheeks. They are very flat-faced or platyoprosopic. The hair, which is straight and black, is worn knotted at the top of the head.

Dress.—The men's dress consists of a coarse cotton cloth pinned with small bamboo pins over the shoulder and worn round the body. This is bound with a *kamarband* round the waist, and forms a short skirt to just below the knees. A jacket reaching to the hips is worn over the cloth. Sometimes sleeves are worn, sometimes not—often the jacket is a mere blanket. On the head is worn a pill-box hat of split bamboo, and often a plume of cock's feathers or bamboo leaves. Cloth gaiters are always worn, to protect from the *dam-dim* flies which abound in the hills.

Stuck in the belt or slung from the shoulder is always a *dao* or sword; the quiver is generally slung round the body and the bow carried either in the hand or slung across the back.

Strings of beads round the neck, and a satchel for betel, pipe, tobacco, steel and flint complete the equipment.

Cultivation.—Sowing of seeds is done by placing them separately in holes. The implements used are a small iron hoe and a *dao*.

Musical instruments.—A pipe with a double barrel is played by placing to the nostrils and blowing down it. There is also a single pipe of the penny-whistle type in use. Drums are of different sizes. On festive occasions, *mithan* horns are used as trumpets.

Weapons.—Their weapons are the bow, the spear and a short sword. There are also a few old muzzle-loading guns on which they place great reliance.

* The countries of several of the tribes mentioned in these appendices (B, C, D) can be seen from the coloured map at the beginning of this volume. Their *habitats* are shown in detail in a map following the Introduction to Mr. Mills's book on the Lhotas.

The Apa Tanangs.

The Apa Tanangs or Ankas live in the valley of the Kal, a tributary of the Ranganadi. Their country is a very fertile flat valley, which is under irrigation. They are a prosperous and industrious people, very like Daflas in appearance but their language is different. Their villages are very large, consisting of more than 1,000 houses. (See Mr. Kerwood's report of 1911-12.)

The Daflas.

Divisions and polity.—The Daflas are hardly divided into clans but certain sections are given a general name, such as Togen, Sillung, etc. They are divided into many exogamous groups called Nyobu, *e.g.*, Nytung, Tana, etc. They have no chiefs and no social precedence. The village is the governing unit, and every member of the community has equal rights. The oldest and richest man in the village is usually looked on as headman. Tradition places their origin in the east.

I am sure that the practice of occasional polyandry mentioned by Dalton * never existed among the Daflas: in my experience of them I never heard of it, and a Dafla would look on the practice with disgust.

Sun and moon—beliefs.—The sun is regarded as a female and the moon as a male deity. The sun is the moon's wife. The Daflas claim to be descended from the sun and moon: they call the sun 'mother Sun' and the moon 'grandfather moon'. The moon's markings are regarded as a scar inflicted by the sun when she quarrelled with her husband and beat him severely.

Earthquakes are caused by the souls of the dead clearing the jungle on the road to their last abode under the earth. When an earthquake comes the Daflas say 'Listen, the earthquake is come,' and then all stand up on the spot where they are; if they remain sitting or lying someone will contract disease.

An eclipse is caused by the God Tammiu eating up the sun or moon, owing to a quarrel about the moon taking a path over the place where Tammiu was building his *chang*. It portends grievous trouble.

Burial customs.—Burial customs for those who die a natural death are similar to those of the Akas; but the hands are placed on the cheeks and the cloth round the body. The corpse is brought from the back door and placed on its side, with the head to the north and the face to the west. The rice beer, etc., hung in the basket on the arm of the post to the north of the grave are kept only two days for children and five days for adults.

For those who die an unnatural death, the customs are somewhat different. *i.e.*, when death is due to a fall, or snake-bite or to being speared to death, etc. The hands are in this case placed below the chin, and the *dao* and knife carried in life are put in the hands. The body is put in the grave facing south. If the dead man has killed a tiger or a man, the body is buried with the head to the north, but a *dao* is put in the right hand, in the belief that the spirit of the tiger or the man will be afraid of the *dao* and so will not attack him.

In some sections, especially the Tagens, when a man has been killed by a tiger, the body is put in the grave in a sitting position but a hole is left and a few hairs of the head are drawn out and tied to a piece of the top part of a bamboo flexed from a distance, where it is posted for the purpose. Should the hairs give way and the bamboo stand up, it is a sign of trouble to the family; that is one more man of the family may be killed by a tiger some time after.

Future life.—The Daflas' beliefs as to a future state are similar to those of the Akas, but they believe that there are villages under the earth of people who die a natural death and villages in heaven of those who die an unnatural death and of children and the still-born.

Physical type.—The people are very well made and muscular, with a decidedly Mongolian cast of face. There is no hair on the men's faces. They (the men) have straight hair, which they wear drawn forward over the head and bound in a bunch over the forehead with yellow strings and long brass pins. The women plait their hair and bind the plaits round their heads in a very becoming fashion.

Dress.—The men wear a rough home-made cloth tied on the shoulders and wrapped round the body; round the waist they wear a number of plaited cane strings. Women have a short skirt, and a cloth round the upper part of the body; also many rings made of plaited cane round their bodies, and a belt of *mithan* skin five inches broad with several metal discs fixed on it. Bead necklaces are much worn by both sexes, yellow and blue being the chief colours.

Implements and weapons.—Their system of cultivation is similar to the Akas', but they use only the *dao* and a pointed bamboo and not the small iron hoe of the Akas.

They have no guns. The weapons are the bow and arrow (with aconite poison), a long spear and a long *dao* or sword. They wear cane helmets, more or less sword-proof, and a shield and body armour of *mithan* hide; sometimes also cane armlets as a guard against sword-cuts.

II.—By T. P. M. O'Callaghan, I.P., Political Officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract.

The Khamtis.

Character and habits.—The Khamtis settled in our area are a race degenerated from their state described in Dalton's time.† The villages are jungle-covered, and peopled by a lackadaisical and opium-sodden people (although it is a question whether opium is a cause of the degeneration or whether the habit is an effect of the climate and surroundings and the mental paralysis induced by these peculiar local conditions).

* Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, 1872.
† Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, 1872.

It must be admitted, however, that they work hard in the fields in the rice-sowing and reaping seasons. The women work very hard. All traces of new land settlement have disappeared.

The chief weapon is the *dao*. They display fitful energy at times in village works of communal necessity and in elephant hunting, but do not live up to Dalton's description.

Arts.—The pursuance of arts is no longer in evidence. The working in silver described by Robinson (Account of Assam) is not to be found. There are no chiefs as described by him, and but few of those workers in metal. The only articles manufactured are pipes which are of very neat workmanship. They maintain their own schools in the "bapuchangs" (temples where the Khamti language—written—is taught by the 'bapus' or priests). Some of the old men among them claim that the Daflas were their forerunners from Borkhamti, south and south-east of the Burma Divide—a point worth investigating.

The Singphos.

These also have degenerated from their condition in the time of their forefathers. There are only 12 or 14 small villages on the Noa Dihing river and up to the Dibrugarh boundary.

They are physically fine men but opium and climate have been their curse, and their condition is inferior even to that of the Khamtis. They have all more or less adopted Buddhism but also continue sacrifices to the spirits.

The Mishmis [*Chulikata* (*crophaired*), *and Bebejiya*].

Character.—Blood feuds.—These two tribes are still in a state where revenge is honourable and feuds are popular. Alternate killings are normal steps in a quarrel through generations. Dalton's description is rather hard on these people.* Now that we know them better, we find that they are a very primitive people with ordinary human virtues and failings. They now live at general peace with everyone, particularly the Abors, whose best customers (for purchase of *mithun*) they are. The allegation against the chastity of their women is not true. They are, in common with all tribes of these parts, hospitable. Beer plays a great part in the scale of happiness. Their feud-murders are normal to people in that primitive state of development; but they will cease with their closer contact with civilisation opening new interests and broadening their outlook.

Divisions.—They are divided into septs or families rather than clans. They are numerically small tribes and are endogamous. When the septs were smaller, they had to marry out; now men take wives of the same sept if they are only distantly connected.

The tribes are animistic. They are polygamous, but only the rich among them can afford the luxury of more than one wife.

There are two classes, freemen and slaves, but the slavery stigma is not as lasting as among other tribes. Most of the work is done by the women and children helped by slaves.

Headmen.—Headmen are chosen to some extent by succession, but wealth and personality also count. They have no judicial or other powers, beyond initiating discussion and influencing it in matters of common interest. Within the sept, individuals punish an offender with their own hands. With another tribe or sept, any member will, as likely as not, punish any member or slave or connection. Thus feuds are everlasting. Punishments are (1) slaying, and (2) enslaving.

Origins.—The majority claim to have come from the north, *i.e.*, Tibet; but the Linghi, a large sept, say they came from the south. The truth is probably that they are the jetsam of immigration floods or were driven up or swept aside into the hills and mountains by other immigrants.

Cultivation.—They cultivate only by *jhuming*. A bamboo stake is the only implement used, and they do not sow broadcast, but place a few seeds in each hole.

Use of stone.—Stones are heaped up over graves, but there are no stone monuments. Stone is not used for buildings but for walls of byres.

Houses.—The houses are built on low *changs* and are divided into partitions with a passage down one side. A long house indicates wealth and position; clothes and weapons also by their superiority indicate wealth.

Beliefs about sun and moon.—Ideas about natural phenomena are very vague; there is no general tradition or folklore known, for instance, about the sun and moon. One story is that all the world is descended from one father and one mother, who had five children—(1) Assamese, (2) Chulikata and Bebejiya Mishmis, (3) Khamtis and Singphos, (4) Taroan Mishmis, and (5) a clan somewhere to the east (? China). Another story has it that the sun is the husband of the moon. They quarrelled and the wife, the moon, demanded a share of the sun's heat. The sun answered that he had to keep all his heat for his children, *i.e.*, men. He then threw his wife into a swamp or pool, and the moon's markings are the resulting mud on her face. The moon fears to come out by day and waits till the sun has gone down.

Burial customs.—The dead are buried in a grave about 3 feet deep, lined with grass and generally not far from the house. The corpse is put on a wooden couch, fully clothed and armed and with food, money, utensils, etc. It is covered with planks in the form of a span or inverted V, and the whole is then covered with stones. The dead are said to go down into the earth.

Physical type.—The Chulikata and Bebejiya Mishmis are sallow in complexion on the whole, whereas the Taroan (Digaru) and Miju Mishmis are ruddish. The hair is straight and is cut square on the fore-head (hence the name *Chulikata*). At the back it is allowed to grow and is kept pinned up. The eyes are blackish-brown, Mongoloid but straight. The nose is flat, not thin, blunt but

* Dalton, Descriptive, Ethnology of Bengal 1872.

not pronouncedly so. The aquiline noses often found among the Taroan are seldom seen in these tribes. In general physique they are squat, well built, sturdy and broad-shouldered; the head is square rather than long and narrow.

Musical instruments are (1) drums covered with lizard's skin, and (2) horns of buffalo; these are only used by medicine men. But the Jew's harp is known.

Weapons.—Their weapons are the longbow and the Tibetan cutting sword. Their arrows are poisoned with aconite. They wear cane helmets.

They look on the *huluk* as sacred, and it is *genna* to kill one: it is considered as half human.

Incest, that is, marriage or sexual connection within forbidden degrees, is described as 'conduct like the monkeys.'

The Mishmis (Taroan and Miju).

Divisions and origin.—These tribes are divided into endogamous groups and exogamous septs or families. Some of the Taroans claim that they were formerly the same people as the Chulikatas (and the claim is admitted by those tribes). They speak the same language and some of their customs are the same. Some of the points of difference are noted below:—

Disposal of the dead.—After a death, the body is waked for a day, for an unimportant person; but up to 3 days for an important person. It is then buried for 5 days and afterwards is taken up and burnt. A circular roofed stockade is built on the place where the body was burnt—usually about 10 or 20 yards from the house. Arms, clothing and utensils are hung up round the grave, and streamers on long bamboo poles are put round.

Beliefs about future state.—The ideas as to a future state are vague. The dead are said to go down into the earth. There are medicine men who speak with and do 'puja' to the spirits of evil; ordinary men know nothing of these.

Physical types.—In appearance the Taroans and Mijus are sturdy and sallowish. Their hair is straight and is not cut. The eyes are straight and blackish-brown. The nose is generally flat but not very broad; but there are many with regular aquiline noses and handsome features.

Weapons.—The weapon in use is the crossbow, and aconite poison is put on the arrows. They do not use cane helmets.

Wives.—Generally, when a man dies, his wives go to his heir, except the latter's mother, who goes to the next-of-kin among the male relatives (*cf.* Marco Polo's Tartars).

III.—By R. C. R. Cumming, I.P., lately Assistant Political Officer, Passighat, Sadiya Frontier Tract.

The Abors.

Habitat.—The term Abor is applied, though erroneously, to those tribes living on the southern slopes of the outer range of the Himalayas, roughly between the Dibang and Subansiri rivers, and, within the hills, in the main valley of the Dihang, with the Yamne and Siyom valleys as offshoots.

Names of tribes.—The tribesmen use the names of their tribes, and the word Abor is unknown except among the more civilized. They also call themselves *adi-ami* (hillmen). 'Abor' is generally applied to the Padam, Minyong, Pasi, Galong and six other tribes. We are in contact with the first four of these. All of them have traditions showing that they came from the same place and are descended from the same stock, but the dialects of some differ.

Exogamous divisions.—All are divided into exogamous clans and particular care is taken to prevent intermarriage. Among the Padam the rule has been relaxed of late years owing to the size of the clans. Each clan is subdivided into smaller clans or families with endogamy strictly forbidden within them. Heavy penalties are exacted for any breach of the rules. The Pasi, Padam and Minyong frequently intermarry, but there is only one known case of the present day of a Galong marrying into one of the first three tribes.

Polyandry.—Polyandry is common among the Galong, and is not necessarily confined to the poor. For instance it is quite usual in this tribe for brothers to have sexual intercourse with each others' wives until they have given birth to their first children.

No instances, however, of this appear to have come to notice among the other tribes, not even among the Miris—unless the latter are Galong turned Miri, *i.e.*, Galongs who have descended to the plains and have either become absorbed into Miri villages or have, though living in separate villages, largely adopted Miri habits.

Division into 'mipak' and 'misshing'.—Among the Pasi, Padam and Minyong tribes there is no division into classes with a definite social order of precedence by clan; but every member is either 'mipak' or 'misshing,' *i.e.*, considered outcaste or not. 'Mipak' has nothing to do with exogamy. Certain persons and families, however, have been considered *mipak* for some generations, and sexual intercourse with them suffices to make the other party *mipak*, and so on. Brothers and sisters of a *mipak* are not *mipak* unless they have become so by heredity.

A *misshing* is free to marry a *mipak*, but this is not generally done, if the fact is known.

Among the Galongs the same divisions occur, but certain entire clans are *mipak* (the Galongs call it *nira*) and the division is more marked. The Galongs consider the other three tribes (Pasi, Padam and Minyong) *mipak*, and *vice versâ*. All the tribes regard the Assamese, Miris, etc., as *mipak*. Slaves or serfs, where they exist, are also *mipak*.

Headmen.—There is no particular class or clan from which chiefs are entirely drawn. In fact, the practice of calling a particular man, headman, can be traced to British influence. Nowadays a tendency to keep the *gam*ship in one family has arisen. He is chosen rather for his knowledge of tribal history and the procedure of the village than his possessions—though he would be a poor *gam* if he failed to attain these!

Tribal government.—Government is essentially democratic, especially among the Padam, Pasi and Minyong. There is a regular Council Chamber and all village matters are decided in it. The council has several recognised spokesmen, who lay down the law on the point at issue, and whose claim lies in ability to recapitulate tribal history further back than anyone else. This recapitulation of clan history is a feature of every *kebang* (village council) and it may be some days before the point at issue is touched on. Having given a decision (which seldom occurs), the *kebang* considers its duty done and does not think of enforcing the orders, knowing full well that there would be small chance of its being able to do so. Every villager does much as he pleases without troubling what the *kebang* may order. In certain affairs affecting the whole village, *e.g.*, the site of new cultivation or the trapping of fish, the *kebang* decisions are usually upheld. The principle of British rule also is to make the *kebangs* decide petty tribal cases and enforce their decisions, but outside our influence the situation is as described above.

Among the Galongs a more feudal state exists. The headmen are more influential and their commands are generally obeyed. They have no *kebangs* or formal councils such as are found among the other tribes, and no council house in the village; nevertheless they do hold discussions, and the headmen are not all-powerful.

Traditions of origin.—In none of these tribes are there any traditions of origin which go back very far. All claim origin from one race or tribe settled at Kiling, in the Bomo-Janbo country. From Kiling, part of the tribe journeyed south across the Siyom river and occupied the hilly country between that river and the Subansiri and Brahmaputra: these are now known as Galongs. Others crossed the Dihang or settled on its banks or neighbourhood.

There are no traces of terraced cultivation, and the efforts of Government to introduce it have found no imitators. Land has been sufficient for *jhuming*, on the whole, though it is scarce up the Dihang.

Houses and materials used.—The materials used for housing are bamboo, thatching palms of different kinds and wood. The houses are built about 5 feet from the ground. Posts are not used, but numbers of pieces of wood, 4 or 5 at an angle resting on the surface, take the place of a post. The floors are of split bamboo (not interwoven) and walls are of rough planks. For the roofs, palm-thatch and wild plantain leaves are used. Stone is not used in building, nor are there any stone monuments There is no restriction on the use of wood. In type of house, there is no distinction between individuals.

Distinctions in dress.—Some of the Padam, Pasi and Minyong Abors wear long red coats imported from Tibet. Among the Galongs such coats are worn as a sign of distinction, but the headmen sometimes affect greyish-white coats from the same source. The tribesmen are usually so poor that they cannot affort to buy these coats, so it is doubtful if they are specially reserved for headmen.

Ideas on sun and moon.—None of the tribes have any fixed ideas regarding the sun, moon and stars, though there are various fairy tales about them. The Padam, Pasi and Minyong make the sun male and the moon female, while the Galong consider them both as "objets d'art" and hence of neuter gender. The moon's markings are assumed to be the body of an animal living in it. There are no theories as to eclipses, save that the animal in the moon is put out for a time owing to the displeasure of the Almighty. Earthquakes are said to be caused by the movements of a large animal living in the waters under the earth.

Burial customs.—All the tribes bury their dead in much the same way, the Galongs digging graves a little deeper than the others.

A hole about 4×4×4 feet is dug (by the Galongs 6 feet deep), and logs are put on the floor. The corpse is laid with the head to the west so as to face the rising sun. The legs are doubled under themselves and the hands drawn under the chin—in fact the body is placed much as at birth. In one hand a small knife is placed, as an aid to getting food on the way to the spiritual home. A framework of logs is made diagonally across within the grave and leaves are placed on it, to prevent earth from falling on the body while the grave is filled in. A lean-to shelter is made at the top of the grave and under it a fire is kindled and maintained for a year (but for only five days in the case of the Galong). A gourd of rice beer is tied under the shelter and various garments of the deceased, together with any heads of *mithan*, etc., killed by him and used to feast the community, are suspended on posts near by or under the shelter.

Abode of the departed.—The Padam, Pasi and Minyong believe that the spirits of the dead return generally to the land whence the race originally came: this is in the case of death from ordinary causes or illness. If the death be due to epidemic disease, such as cholera or influenza, the spirit departs to the west or south,—*i.e.*, the direction opposite that in which the land of their fathers lies. But among the Galong it is supposed that after death the spirit becomes the slave of its own particular deity. None of these tribes believe in any transmigration into insects, birds or animals.

Physical types.—The Abors are short and stockily built, but their sturdiness varies as the country they live in. The Padam are slightly taller than the rest. The complexion is sallow, with straight eyes, usually black. The face is generally flat and the forehead broad. Women usually have tattoo marks on their faces.

The nose is upturned, with wide nostrils, but many boast almost aquiline noses. The hair is straight and is cut in a fringe evenly round the top of the head; but the Galong cut the fringe low down on the nape of the neck and on the forehead. Among the Padam, Pasi and Minyong, the

women and children all cut their hair like the men, but the Galong women grow their hair long, drawing it back along the sides of the head and leaving an even parting down the centre ; it is drawn back so tightly that it often has the appearance of being painted on like that of a Dutch doll.

Implements.—There are no special agricultural implements among any of the tribes ; everything is done with the *dao* and the axe. For sowing, four or five seeds are placed together in a hole with the aid of a pointed stick.

Music.—A crude form of bagpipes is common to all the tribes ; this is the chief and practically the only form of musical instrument. A dry gourd takes the place of the wind-bag, and a special form of fine bamboo the chanter and pipes. There are three pipes besides the chanter, which is perforated and played with the fingers in the ordinary way. Another instrument found is a sort of Jew's harp of bamboo and fibre.

Weapons.—The chief weapons are the bow and arrow, the *dao*, and a long Tibetan sword. The sword is only carried in time of war.

For head dress and for protection against sword-cuts, hats of plaited cane are worn. These are worn a good deal also in time of peace, especially by those living further back in the hills. The Galong hat is of different shape, very often resembling an up-to-date bowler hat.

There is no history of head-hunting among these tribes. When enemies are killed in battle, the hands are occasionally cut off and hung up in the *mosup* or council-chamber ; the head is never cut off.

Very little tribal fighting has occurred among these tribes, their motto being that the tongue is mightier than the sword.

Unlike their eastern neighbours, the Mishmis, killing their fellow-men has been and is still regarded as a serious offence : this forbearance, however, only applies to themselves.

The Miris (of Sadiya Frontier Tract).

Origin and divisions.—The Miris are mostly descended from the Abors living on the banks of the Dihang, Brahmaputra and Dibang. Their language is similar and their customs are very similar to those of the Abors, but Hinduism is rapidly changing those furthest away from the hill people. There are four big clans. Two of these descended from the hills not many generations ago, but many are escaped or driven out slaves of the Abors. The Chutia clan of Miris is supposed to have come up the Brahmaputra and mingled with the others. Probably, though, they came first from the hills and went on for a safe distance, returning afterwards upstream. Before the British occupation of the Abor country the Miris were traders and interpreters between the Abors and the British. There is no social division into classes.

These big clans are divided into smaller exogamous clans kept as distinct as possible, but of late years there has been much intermarrying and relationships have become involved.

The organization is democratic. When near the Abors, the Miris adhere to the Abor custom of *kebangs*.

Appearance.—They are of sallow complexion, similar to the Abors. Their features are the same, but the hair is either kept long and knotted at the back or is cut evenly round the head. The latter is the modern fashion. The women wear their hair long and drawn back straight, but without a parting. The physique is good on the whole. The eyes are as a rule black, the forehead broad and the nostrils wide ; the face is flat and round.

Weapons.—For weapons they use the bow and arrow and have also a few old guns. There is a special long kind of arrow for shooting fish. All carry a *dao*. There is no trace of head-hunting among the Miris, and their weapons are carried for the chase only.

The beliefs of the Miris of the Sadiya tract about the sun and moon are similar to those of the Abors.

Burial of the dead.—The dead are buried, and the corpse is laid flat on the back, with the hands clasped under the chin and the legs out straight. A double lean-to logs is made over the body to stop earth falling on it, and another double lean-to over the top of the grave. When *bhakats* or village priests are buried the soil is not kept off them, but the grave is filled up in the ordinary way. No reason for this is known.

IV.—By G. C. Bardaloi, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

The Miris (of Lakhimpur District).

Divisions.—There are really no exogamous clans, as, though there are clans not as a rule inter-marrying, yet run-away marriages are prevalent, and the parties are not ex-communicated. But, they may be grouped into two exogamous divisions composed of several clans :—1. The Chutia (Dole, Pegu, etc.) ; 2. Aingiya (Taoit, etc.), Mayangiya (Nara, etc.) and others.

The class-ship tie is much loosened, and social precedence undetermined, as all are now living peacefully under the Government. Every clan claims superiority to others. Probably the Dole and Pegu are first and then the Mayangiya and Dambukial.

Headmen.—Chiefs in a clan are chosen always from that clan, from the *gam's* family or if necessary from his relatives on the male side. There is no special clan for supplying *gams* or headmen. The Miris have a social democratic organization, with the *gam* as president, but he cannot overrule the combined wishes of the people. Originally each clan had one *gam*, even when living in different villages. Now each village has generally a *gam*.

Tradition of origin.—Their tradition places their origin at Abu-Killing, in Akshachela near Memba, towards the north and beyond one range of mountains. All Miris are said to have come from there. The majority (now Hindus) say they are descendants of Rukshma Vira of the Mahabharat.

Implements.—For cultivation they use the ordinary plough and a hoe, the cultivation being all in plains land.

Ideas of celestial bodies.—The sun is a male and the moon a female deity. The stars and comets are deities, but their sex is not defined. Orion's belt is supposed to be a young man and the Pleiads a young girl; the young man is always chasing the young girl, whom he can never catch. The markings on the moon are said to be human excreta. There was a certain festival of the gods and a quarrel occurred between the moon and another deity; the latter threw some excreta and hit the moon, and the marks are even now visible.

Disposal of the dead.—The dead are buried, corpses of persons of position being put in a coffin or box, with new clothes on; for others only a piece of cloth or a mat is used. The corpse is put on a layer of wood, then another layer of wood is added and on top of this earth is placed. A mound four feet high is made over the grave. Formerly brass cups and cloths were put above the grave, but this practice has ceased.

Life after death.—After death, according to one set, the dead meet their parents and forefathers underground in the abode of the dead. Others believe in transmigration: the souls of the good are reborn as men and those of the bad as animals.

Music.—The musical instruments in use are the melon-banjo, the bamboo flute, drums and cymbals.

APPENDIX C.

ON THE CONNECTION OF DIFFERENT NAGA AND OTHER TRIBES IN ASSAM, THEIR ORIGINS AND CERTAIN CUSTOMS.

By J. H. HUTTON, C.I.E., I.C.S., DEPUTY COMMISSIONER NAGA HILLS, AND HONORARY DIRECTOR OF ETHNOGRAPHY, ASSAM.

Naga—shabitat.—A love for old sites has often been asserted of Naga tribes in contrast with the Kukis, Garos, Kacharis and others. But this is not true of all Nagas. It is marked only among the Angamis and even they count back to a migratory stage.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to give a test by which to distinguish a Naga tribe from other Assam and Burma non-Nagas. Naga is a useful word to denote the tribes living in the area bounded on the north-east by the Hukong Valley, on the north-west by the Brahmaputra Valley plains, on the south-west by the Cachar plains, on the east by the Chindwin and on the south by the Manipur Valley, which last is the contact point roughly with the Kukis (Thados, Lushais, etc.).

Immigrations of the past.—This area has received in the past at least three great waves of immigration :—

(1) From Tibet and Nepal (Singphos, Akas, Garos and Kacharis).

(2) From Southern China across the Irawadi Valley (the Tai races—Shans, Ahoms, Tamans, etc.

(3) From the south. This wave has hardly stopped yet, for Lushai-Kuki migration was still going on northward till 1918, when it was stopped from spreading into the unexplored area north of the Ti-Ho river by driving the newly-formed colonies back across the the river, before the Kuki operations.

The *Lushei, Thado* and other *Kuki* tribes are probably another branch of the immigration from the north ; but if so, they must have first gone south and then turned north again for they drove up from the south in front of them the old Kukis, and perhaps that very different race which became the predominating factor in the Angami Naga tribe and which has probably entered in a lesser degree into some of its neighbours.

The *Angamis* (or the ancestors of part of the present tribe) were undoubtedly located far to the south of the present Naga Hills.

Also we have (4) still another immigrant element in the Kol-Mon-Annam occupation, which certainly extended over a part of the present Naga area. The Bolo race itself seems to be connected with the Munda and Mon-Khmer families, and all were probably preceded by a Negrito race, such as the Andamanese are, which was partly expelled partly absorbed. Traces of all the above races are to be found in the culture and composition of the tribes now known as 'Nagas' collectively.

Traditions of origin of Naga tribes.—Naga traditions of origin indicate almost all points of the compass:—

(*a*) The *Konyak* tribes ascribe their origin to the hills to the north and to migration from the plains in the west and north-west as well ; though others with Singpho affinities say that they came from the north-east. One or two villages claim to have come from the south (the Ao country).

(*b*) Some of the *Aos* like some of the Lhotas are said to have come from the plains to the north-west, but the majority claim an autochthonous origin at Chongliemli.

(*c*) The *Khoiraos* claim a western origin, from the plains of Assam.

(*d*) The *Semas* say that they came from the south. A connection is traceable between them and the Khoiraos of Ngari, pointing to a western origin. These Semas of western origin connect with the Kacharis, Garos, Lynngams and Bhois. The Kacharis, while allowing Nagas, or certainly Kachcha Nagas, to eat and sleep in their porches, refuse to allow Kukis inside at all, holding that Kacharis and Nagas were originally descended from two brothers, whereas Kukis are complete aliens.

(*e*) Others, for instance the *Kalyo-Kengyu* tribe, claim a northern origin.

(*f*) The *Southern Sangtams* derive from the Chindwin Valley to the south-east, while the *Northern Sangtams* merely point to the south. The Tamans in the Chindwin Valley lived at one time in the hills to the east and then returned to the Valley leaving some of the tribe behind. These might be connected with the Southern Sangtams. In any case they trace their origin to southern China, and their descendants are still presumably represented among the Naga tribes.

(*g*) The *Angami* also afford indications of mixed origin. They came from the south-east, first from Tangkhul country to the south, but traces of terraced cultivation are found far to the south in the Lushai Hills and possibly they came from further south still. The Angamis regard a spirit in the sky as the ancestress of them all. Part of the tribe claim a southern and part a south-western origin.

(*h*) The *Rengmas* say that their origin was in the south.

All the Naga tribes have legends of clans descended from indigenous women out of caves, or from wild men caught in the jungle, *e.g.*, the Lhotas, the Phoms, and the Angamis of Kohima.

Physical type : differences.—Thus each tribe has traditions which cannot be reconciled with a homogeneous origin ; and marked differences of type are traceable everywhere, even between individuals of the same tribe. The Angami are tall and well-proportioned, the Tengima and Meme sub-tribes having straight eyes and noses sometimes even aquiline. Their features are in any case far more regular than the Mongolian-looking Sema who tends to a flat nose and oblique eyes and a short squat figure. The Angamis are also distinguished by huge calves, for which no explanation is afforded by local conditions as compared with other tribes such as the Semas or the Changs. The big calf is also typical of the Kuki, who is otherwise, however, much more stocky in build.

In colour there is much variation and difference of altitude by no means accounts for all of it. There are generally three types—a straight-haired light brown, a wavy-haired brown and a crisp-haired dark brown, corresponding to Ratzel's division of the races of Indonesia. Generally the predominant colour is red and this is most popular black and white being considered unbecoming, though black more so than white. In high altitudes even the tint of blood is seen and a blush can often be detected. The ' fair and sallow ' type is found at all altitudes ; it appears even more among the Aos and Konyaks than among Manipuris and Kukis. The children everywhere have rusty reddish hair turning black later. Rarer than the sallow is the dark brown and fuzzy-haired type suggesting the Negrito : specimens of this type are found occasionally in all tribes, but it is commonest in the north among Phoms, Aos and Konyaks and again in the south in some villages of Kachcha Nagas in the North Cachar Hills, suggesting that the race which bequeathed it was pushed apart from the centre. Fuzzy hair is always held in derision.

Cephalic indices suggest a connection between Aos, Manipuris, Ahoms and perhaps some other sub-Himalayan tribes, due perhaps to the infusion of Tai blood.

The dead.—There are various methods of disposal of the dead ; these are dealt with in a separate note.*

Weapons and implements.—Some of the weapons and implements in use among Naga tribes are of marked northern type, and others are clearly connected with Indonesian forms like those of the Igorot of the Philippines ; other patterns again show similarity to the Kol-Mon-Annam type. Of the northern type are the Kaboi dancing *dao* and another *dao* for real use. I have in my possession one of the latter kind which is like one figured as a Bhutanese weapon by Butler (Sketch of Assam, 1847). The obsolete Lhota *yanthang* is also of the northern type. Both these Naga *daos* are remarkable in that the iron haft projects beyond the hilt, as in the Garos' and Khasis' *daos*—probably to stick in the ground while sitting.

Spears with ornamental barbs resemble those of the Philippines, while some patterns of Angami spears resemble the Igorot spear. The stone hammer used by all Naga smiths is also found in the Philippines.

The Yachungr Naga hoe, obtained from a tribe almost isolated from regular intercourse with its neighbours, is just like a Khasi miniature sweet-potato hoe. S. E. Peal reported a squarer type of shouldered hoe among the Konyaks. Both types are like the Battak hoes from Sumatra and similar in shape to the obsidian blades of Easter Island.

Bows.—The crossbow is the weapon of the Singphos and has been adopted by the north-eastern Nagas ; but it is not in general use, though the Lhotas know it. The longbow also is not the natural weapon of the Nagas : the Semas believe their ancestors used it, and the Angamis have learnt the use of the pellet bow. This is of interest as the bow is almost entirely absent in Borneo, Sumatra, Java and the Celebes. It is, however, possible that it has merely been discarded, as both the Angamis and Semas retain it as a toy.

Indications of diverse origin.—Diversity of orgin of the Nagas is suggested by various other things. For instance, the reaping hook is used by most tribes, but the Semas use the hand, like the Garos, Bhois and the Southern Bré of Burma ; the Thado Kuki says he used to do so, but now used a sickle. Again, the Angamis have an elaborate system of terraced cultivation, and this is also practised in some Khoirao and Kachcha Naga villages, but little among other tribes (among the Semas it has been introduced by Government deliberately). The terrace cultivators are the most frequent users of megalithic monuments. Wooden posts and Y-posts are used by Semas, Sangtams and a few others, while the Aos use round-topped posts. Some tribes build their houses on the ground, some on platforms.

Divisions within tribes vary, being sometimes dual, sometimes triple. Some are, nominally at any rate, exogamous. But the exogamous system is complicated by subdivision and adoption from group to group. Some groups have different words for mother and other terms of relationship.

The polity in the villages shows differences. Among the Semas the hereditary chiefs are feudal lords, as also among the Changs and Thado Kukis. But Ao and Tangkhul villages have bodies of elders representing the principal kindreds in the village, while the Angami, Rengma, Lhota, and (apparently) Sangtam villages have a system of extreme democracy. The Angamis, however, have hereditary priests from the family of the first founder of the village.

The belief among the tribes is universal that the souls of the dead become butterflies or insects. Again, in the future world the shades of the dead go on living just as in this world. Most say that the future world is underground and that the path to it is along a narrow mountain track guarded by a dangerous spirit, a belief frequently found in Melanesia. The Angamis believe that the best people live after death in the sky in company of the ancestress of all life. Others believe in sky spirits but do not locate the dead there. Among some, the Semas for example, it is believed that the good dead go east and the bad dead go west. In all tribes conflicting beliefs are held concurrently.

*Appendix D.

Lycanthropy is practised by the Semas but not by the Angamis, though believed in by both. So in the Khasi Hills with the Lyngams and Khasis respectively.

In folk-lore, some stories are common to all tribes of Nagas and others are not.

In language there is a decided cleavage of certain groups. The north-eastern group seem to approach nearer to Bodo and Kuki than to the Central Naga tribal languages.

Conclusion as to origin of Nagas.—My conclusion is that no Naga tribe is of pure blood. The tribes are combined of elements due to immigration from at any rate three directions, north-east, north-west and southern, the people having been pushed up from the plains of Assam and Burma by pressure. We may speculate that at a certain stage a Negrito race, at a later an Austric race of Kol-Annam or Mon-Khmer type was in occupation, leaving traces in the implements and perhaps folk tales now found. Then came a definitely Bodo immigration from the north-west or west, and by this perhaps the Y-shaped posts, reaping by hand and indications of a matrilineal system have been left. There is, beyond dispute, a mixture of Tai blood from the east also. The immigration wave from the south is obvious enough, and possibly brought up elements of population from southern Burma wedged in among migrating tribes. The Angamis are probably related to the Igorot and possibly other Philippine tribes by blood or culture or both. Further, these southern immigrants perhaps already consisted of two parts, one settled and cultured, the other barbarous but warlike; and the Angamis may have inherited certain customs from both parts of the tide. On the other hand it is possible that they contain some Aryan element from the other side of India caught up among migrating tribes. Lewin ascribes such an origin to the Chakmas of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Davis finds Aryan blood among the Lolos of Yunnan. The Angamis are quite as likely to have it as either of these.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

APPENDIX D.

ON THE DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD AMONG NAGA TRIBES AND OTHERS.

By J. H. Hutton, c.i.e., i.c.s.

(1) *Burning* is practised only by Hinduised Manipuris to the south and one section of the Singphos to the north-east, but traditions of tribes practising it are found among Aos and Changs.

(2) *Burial* is the practice of the Angami, Sema, Rengma, Lhota, Sangtam, Tangkhul and Kachcha Nagas, and the Kukis. But such burial is not always absolute. Thus Kukis, when a great person has died, sometimes put the head after decomposition into a cleft on the side of a cliff. This custom is rare, but certainly exists or existed among the Thado Kukis. Some Konyaks still place the skulls of their dead in stone cysts.

The Yachungr and some Southern Sangtams bury the dead inside the house under a bed, and often disturb the grave and dig out the bones to make room for a new corpse.

The Tangkhuls and some Naked Rengmas build small houses over the graves, with little ladders leading to them for the ghosts to inhabit. The Lhotas, Sangtams and Semas build thatched roofs over graves, suggesting perhaps that they formerly exposed the bodies in miniature houses—just as Aos who have become Christians bury their dead but put thatched roofs over the graves.

(3) *Platform exposure* is the rule north of the tribes mentioned, the body being sometimes moked first. The platform used is a bamboo shelf with a thatched roof.

The Phoms and Konyaks wrench the head off the body after decomposition, and then put it in a pot in a separate place or in a niche in the cliff. Both these tribes bring the heads into the house for a time and treat them with some ceremony.

The Changs both bury and expose their dead—indiscriminately.

(4) *Desiccation.*—This practice is followed by the Kalyo-Kengyu, or part of them. The dead are smoked in their houses for two months over a fire and then retained in a wooden coffin like a lidless box, with a mat to cover it, either inside or just outside the mat-wall, and under the eaves nearest the hearth.

At the next sowing, on the first day of the sowing *genna*, all those who have died since the last year are brought out and their withered bodies broken up, the bones being picked out and counted by a number of persons, male and female, slightly less for a woman than for a man. The bones are then put in an earthen pot at the back of the family granary and are not touched until they dissolve into dust or until the granary rots and falls on them. The broken bits of the body and the coffin, etc., are thrown into the jungle, preferably over a steep place, near the village.

(5) The disposal of the frontal bone by throwing it into running water is worth notice. The Kacharis burn their dead but save the frontal bone to throw into the Kopili, or some other stream The Manipuris, Hindus as they are, keep the frontal bone to be thrown into the Ganges, but we may surmise that their custom has its origin, as that of the Kacharis doubtless has, in a special veneration for running water, and indicates a community of culture between the two tribes in their pre-Hindu state.

APPENDIX E.

Summary of notes on some cottage industries of Karimganj.

(By K. C. PURKAYASTHA, M.A.)

I.—HANDLOOM WEAVING.

History.

1. Twenty years back this industry was on the decline in this district and very nearly dying. It received a tremendous stimulus as a result of the *swadeshi* movement of the partition days. While middle class youths lost time and money in trying to earn a living from the loom the hereditary weavers, the Naths (Jugis), found a saviour in the weaving movement; and the war by inflating prices brought them prosperity.

Consumption.

2. The demand for their output is mainly local and rural and therefore only for coarse cloth. The demand varies with the season. The busy season is winter—from mid-November to February—when cotton wrappers 3 yards × 1½ yds. or 6 yds. × 1½ yds. have a very strong market, while full sized *dhutis* 5 yds. × 44" are also actively sold. The slack season is roughly from April to September.

During the busy season the weekly sale at Narsingpur Hôt reaches Rs. 50,000 (on the testimony of expert weavers); while during the slack season I calculated a total weekly sale of Rs. 5,000.

Production.

3. *Charka*-spun yarn has not found favour with the Naths on account of the tedious process necessary to prepare it for use in fly-shuttle looms. Manchester yarn is almost exclusively used. 12's and 14's are the counts chiefly woven; finer yarn is rather of an exception. Ignorance of methods of dyeing fast colours leaves the Naths at a disadvantage compared with Julas of the neighbouring Bengal districts of Tipperah and Noakhali. Fly-shuttle looms are made by local carpenters from local wood or with bamboo frame work, at cost ranging from Rs. 15 in the former case and Rs. 9 in the latter.

Like most cottage industries weaving is done in the intervals of cultivation, and the whole family participates. Usually one adult weaver will have two underworkers (locally called *jogalis*) and will turn out 10 pairs of 4½ yds. coarse *dhutis* per week, unless farm work happens to be specially heavy. He usually works in two shifts. The morning shift may continue till 11 A.M. He resumes work again in the afternoon at about 4 P.M. In the busy season he begins his first shift early and leaves off work late at night. During the off season or when agricultural work is heavy he stops weaving or reduces his hours.

Distribution, purchase and sale.

4. One interesting feature of this industry is that it is almost entirely on a cash basis; little business is done on credit. The Marwari merchants, who till now control the market and dictate prices, demand ready cash for their yarn. The weaver brings his cloth to the market, when middlemen purchase it from him for cash. The middleman (locally *paikar*) sells it to retailers for cash. This is perhaps the only industry in which there has so far been no serious grievance against the middlemen, who, by the way, are themselves Naths. But with oversupply—local supply exceeding the local demand—the middlemen will become a menace to the weavers. And at the time of writing signs are not wanting that the danger is not far ahead.

Marts.

5. The chief mart is Narsingpur. It is owned and managed by the Nath community for their own benefit and has 500 members on roll. It meets weekly on Thursdays from about 12 A.M. to 2 P.M. The sales range from Rs. 5,000 per week in the slack season to Rs. 50,000 per week during the busy months. I estimate that the total annual sale comes to about Rs. 6,00,000. The total sale of yarn at Karimganj is over 6,00,000 and my calculation is that when woven the market value of the cloth is roughly Rs. 9,00,000 for the whole subdivision.

Prices and earnings.

6. Prices at Narsingpur are quoted in terms of per 4 pairs (locally *hali*). At the time of my enquiry the mean quotation was Rs. 11 per *hali* for 9 cubit *dhutis* or nearly 5 annas per yard length.

At the time of my enquiry cost and profits to the weaver worked out as under :—

Revenue (per week).	Rs.	a.	Cost (per week).	Rs.	a.
10 pairs of 4½ yds. *dhutis* at Rs. 11 per *hali* (4 pairs) ...	27	8	2 bundles of yarn (12's and 14's) at Rs. 10	20	0
			Dye ...	Nil	
				20	0
			Net profit (per week)	7	8
	27	8			

Hence monthly earnings of the family would be Rs. 30, provided they work average time for the whole month. As a matter of fact, full time is not put in, I have been told, except during the season. This profit can go up to Rs. 52 and more if they weave 40's or higher counts. But local demand for finer counts is limited and precarious, and producers are not able to take the risk of manufacturing for distant markets, for want of any form of modern organisation.

II.—BAMBOO MATS.

Uses and demand.

1. This is an old local industry which has been growing in volume and value with increasing facilities for export and increasing demand. The industry is confined almost entirely to Namasudras, who udertake it as a subsidiary occupation to agriculture (but the position of the two occupations is becoming reversed owing to the Namasudras losing their land).

The demand for mats is both local and external. The local use of bamboo mats is chiefly for—

(1) temporary walls and sheds, etc.,

(2) roofing for country boats.

The external demand is besides the above for use also in—

(3) Jute godowns, (4) Brick fields, (5) Ships.

It is really the last three sources of demand that are responsible for the present growth and size of the industry.

The demand varies with the season. It is strongest from autumn to spring. Slackness sets in with the onset of the monsoon, and the market is weakest in July and August. In this period, the brick field demand has ceased and the jute godown demand has not yet begun. At the same time large supplies of forest bamboos have been brought down the rivers, tending to lower production costs and opening of water communication also renders local markets more accessible.

Prices and earning.

2. The average price per hundred pieces of bamboo mats obtained by makers is about Rs. 314 The average export price (at Karimganj) is believed to be Rs. 5 (if not higher). The total turn over per year is estimated to range from 50 lakhs to 75 lakhs of pieces. The estimated monthly output and income per family are :—

Number of working days per week.	Output per (bi-weekly) hat.	Output per week.	Output per month.	Net montly income per family.
1	2	3	4	5
				Rs. Rs.
4 days	50 pieces	100	400	4 to 5-8
Every day	100 „	200	800	8 to 11

This cottage industry too is worked on the family system, men doing the work of preparing the bamboo and women weaving them. They usually work for 2 days per *hat* or 4 days per week Fingers are liable to be injured if work is continued from day to day. With ordinary speed Re. 1 to Re. 1-6 per week is the average income per family ; while Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-12 represents the limit of the family's earnings. I take 3 able-bodied adults (men and women) to be the strength of the average family.

Distributing agency—middlemen.

3. The distance that separates the mat-makers from the jute centres and from the Calcutta port on the one hand, and from the bamboo forests on the other ; and, secondly, the volume of the trade and the want of any organisation of these cottage workers to handle so large a business, have afforded facilities for a distressingly long chain of middlemen to squeeze themselves into the arrangement.

First in order comes the purchase of raw materials. The extraction of bamboo from the forest is done as an annual business by a certain class of people. In most cases they prefer to sell their stock to wholesale purchasers who carry it to the principal marts and make a profit by reselling to local dealers, or the *pâiyâdârs* in certain cases. The mat-makers purchase their supplies of bamboo from either of these classes of people. The former generally sell for cash or short credit ; while the latter prefer to advance bamboo, charge higher (than market) rates, and in the bargain bind the mat-maker to sell his output to him at lower (than market) rates. Obviously the producer stands to lose at both ends by the latter arrangement. Credit rates for bamboo are often as high as 25 per cent. above cash rates ; and the difference is seldom less than 12½ per cent. The mat-maker rarely extracts his own bamboo from the forest. He takes the bamboo and prepares the mats. He has next to dispose of his output. There is the *pâiyâdâr* ready at his door to buy up the whole stock. He has either advanced him bamboo or, as more usually is the case, he has allowed him to overdraw a certain sum nominally free of interest against mats deposited, on condition, first, that he sells his entire output to him alone, and, secondly, that he should give him a pair of mats to the rupee above the market rates for cash sellers. For example if the rate for mats is Rs. 4 per hundred pieces or 12½ pairs per rupee, for those with a book account the rate would be 13½ pairs per rupee. It is obviously to the interest of the *pâiyâdâr* to tempt the producer to take an advance and sell at reduced rates. This is always done and advances are allowed to stand over from year to year. The *pâiyâdâr's* clients are his bondsmen and the client is, I am told, insulted and not unoften assaulted, if he is found selling to any other person. This is not only done in the case of a man who has himself taken an advance, possibly a decade or fifteen years ago, but also for advances taken by his father! After the *pâiyâdârs* come retail and wholesale merchants and Calcutta agents, before the consumers at the end of the chain are reached.

4. The system has completely demoralised the Namasudra mat-maker. The chain of unnecessary middlemen leaves him too small a margin even for mere animal existence and his only escape now from the operation of this heartless exploitation is through underhand sale. The problem is to eliminate the now useless *pâiyâdâr* and smaller merchants and to bring the matmakers into direct touch with the stevedores, brick fields, and jute centres, or at least with the exporting merchants of Karimganj. As regards the latter, the following table will show how far the producer will benefit by it :—

Result of system.

Price of mats purchased by Karimganj exporters.	Distribution of the sum of Rs. 100 (sale price).			
	To cost of materials.	Profit of producer.	Profit of *pâiyâdâr*.	Profit of smaller merchant.
1	2	3	4	5
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
100	58 (58 per cent.)	21 (21 per cent.)	10 8 (10·5 per cent.)	10 8 (10·5 per cent.)

By eliminating these two uncalled-for middlemen by the simple process of organising co-operative sale societies, the income of the Namasudras could be doubled.

III.—*PATI.*

Pati, also known as *sitalpati*, *i.e.*, cool mat, is one of those old industries of which Sylhet is justly proud. A hundred years back, *sitalpati* made from ivory formed a regular article of manufacture in Sylhet. But the industry is now not merely decaying but actually dead, and the delicate art of making *patis* out of ivory is possibly lost too. I saw a specimen of ivory *pati* in 1906.

*Murta** cane *patis*, however, are now having an increasingly large volume of business. The present note is confined to *murta patis* only.

1. *Qualities and uses* :—

(1) Ordinary qualities are used as—

(*a*) A covering for the bedstead.

(*b*) Something to place under the bed.

(*c*) A convenient "Camp chair" in villages to spread out when there are guests to receive.

(2) *Shâp* or long *pati*—for ceremonial occasions, meetings and musical performances.

(3) *Sitalpati* (proper) :—

Very fine pieces are spread out on the bed during summer and form luxuriously cool coverings that easily induce sleep. They are real works of art, and good pieces 2½ yards × 1½ yards may command a price up to Rs. 100 each.

(4) Floor mats :—

European sojourners in the plains use it as a floor covering, for which purpose furnishers will cut up a long *pati* and weave the sides into perfectly whole joints with the appearance of one single *pati* exactly fitting the room.

2. *Direction of the demand*—

Ordinary *patis* are strongly in demand all over Eastern and Northern Bengal. Calcutta is a brisk selling centre, while Burma is a paying market. Upper Assam is taking larger quantities every year. Mymensingh seems to be able to consume cheap *patis* almost in any quantity.

The demand might increase very greatly, if efficient organisation for pushing on sale existed. Here I foresee a wide field for co-operative sale societies.

3.—*Location of the industry*—

The chief centres of the trade are :—

(1) Balaganj (for finer qualities).

(2) Daser Bazar (for medium qualities).

(3) Kaliganj (for coarse kinds).

* Maranta or Clinogyne dichotoma (Ass. *patidoi*).

At Daser Bazar this industry is the hereditary occupation of the Das (Mahishya) caste and is their subsidiary source of income next to agriculture. I have, however, been told of men of such castes as Dhobis, Naths, and Mali, and some Mahomedans as well pursuing the industry.

Half a dozen families depend entirely on this industry for their living. At Kaliganj it forms a subsidiary occupation of Mahomedan agriculturists.

4.—*Raw materials*—

Pati is made from *murta*, a plant of the reed family. Unlike reeds of the *khag* variety it has no joints. Like other reeds it grows on marshy and waterlogged areas and is found in abundance in choked up tanks and damp hill slopes. At Balaganj *murta* is cultivated by Mahomedans and appears to be a paying thing to grow. The roots are sown in April and the plants ripen in 2 years. It is a standing crop and will yield good *murta* for 10 to 12 years consecutively. The cultivation is not generally done in the open field; but the plants are arranged in a ring round the homestead land on the brink of the inevitable surrounding trench.

The wild variety is cheaper, but inferior in quality. Thick bushes grow slender canes of inferior quality. Daser Bazar and Kaliganj use the wild variety almost exclusively, while Balaganj has to grow it.

The yield per *kedar* (one-third acre) of land is said to total Rs. 40 per year. Twenty *kalis* or 80 pieces of *murta* fetch anything from 4 annas to 10 annas according to the quality of the cane.

5.—*System of manufacture*—

The industry is worked on the cottage system. At Kaliganj women do the weaving while men prepare the cane. At Daser Bazar, co-operation from the women folk does not seem to be general; widows and indigent women however earn a living from its manufacture.

The *murta* is split like the ordinary cane. (*a*) For the brown variety, the prepared cane has only to be dried and then woven. At Kaliganj the cane is not even dried. The result is that when the cane gets dry the texture ceases to be close. (*b*) For the *white* variety, the cane after splitting is boiled and dried before it is woven. It will then present an ivory finish. To obtain a milky white appearance young canes are used and give better results, though they are less able to bear a strain and last less than more mature cane.

A full-sized *pati* is —$\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ yards, smaller ones of various sizes are also made. A full length *shâp* is 8×2 yards.

Prices and sales.

6. A *pati* worth Rs. 2 in July would fetch only Re. 1-8 in autumn; it would rise to Rs. 2 again in November, to Rs. 2-4 in January and Rs. 2-8 in March and return to Rs. 2 in May-June.

During the wet months *murta* is plentiful and cheaper, and transport easy; (agricultural) workers are comparatively free to devote their time to this subsidiary industry; and therefore though demand is keen prices remain at a very reasonable level. With the approach of autumn, the demand weakens, but supply continues to be large. Hence during September and October prices are the lowest. From November agriculture absorbs increasingly greater time of the workers and supply falls off more quickly than the demand, and therefore prices rise. During the dry winter months production is further restricted for yet another reason, *viz.*, that the cane becomes crisp and brittle—too dry for weaving. With spring the demand revives and the highest prices are realised in March-April, after which a return to normal conditions is quickly effected when the broadcast sowing of paddy is over in May.

The price fluctuations benefit chiefly the middlemen. The *pati* maker is poor and is unable to withhold his output from the market during the autumn slump, and has to offer his stock for sale to the middlemen for what can be had for them.

Daser Bazar near Barlekha (Assam-Bengal Railway) is chiefly a mart for *patis*, though other articles are also brought for sale. But there is no standing shop. In September 1921, when I visited the *hât*, the sale of *patis* opened ½ hour before sunset and was over in one hour and a half. The wholesale purchasers (*paikars*) sat down in rows and the makers or their agents brought their *patis* for sale. The purchasers pulled up the *pati* from the (maker's) bundle, unrolled it, rolled it up again—all in an incredibly short space of time—and offered a price. The maker next tried another man, and another and then another till it was sold. There were some stalls also of sellers who were evidently middlemen. Though roughly 2,500 to 3,000 *patis* were offered for sale, very few were taken back unsold.

The average price appeared to be Re. 1-2 to Re. 1-4 for full and medium sized *patis*. This was lower than usual owing to the previous *hât* not meeting for foul weather and the absence of outside purchasers. Judging by the quantity marketed, the day's sale amounted to Rs. 2,500 to Rs. 3,500. This *hât* meets weekly (and not bi-weekly as is usual). Taking Rs. 2,500 to be the average value of weekly sale from April to September and Rs. 1,000 as the average weekly sale for the remaining six months, the annual sale calculated in terms of price paid to makers comes to Rs. 84,000; adding 20 per cent. as middlemen's margin, the export value of the annual turn over is Rs. 1,00,000 and odd.

Kaliganj market has the usual standing shops and *pati* is only one of the several things sold there. The system of sale is very much the same as at Daser Bazar. The number of purchasers was only half a dozen. There was no stall for sellers. The average price was Re. 0-11-6 for sellers. The sale was over in an hour's time. The day's sale (in September) amounted to over Rs. 500. The bazar meets bi-weekly and I calculate the total export value of the trade to be Rs. 40,000. The total sale of *patis* in Karimganj is thus nearly Rs. 1¼ lakhs. This of course leaves out purchases privately made from makers.

Earnings.

7. The following is the calculation of earnings at Daser Bazar, where only men work. At Kaliganj, where families work, earnings are greater and the *pati* makers are comparatively prosperous :—

Number of workers.	Time required for—			Output per week	Income per week.	Net monthly income.	Remarks.
	Procuring cane.	Preparing cane.	Weaving.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
						Rs.	
1 adult ...	1 day ...	2 days ...	4 days ...	2 full *patis*	At Re. 1-4 each Rs. 2-8.	10	Working full time.

N.B.—The calculations are for average workers only. Expert makers can earn more.

What profits the middlemen make, it is difficult to gauge without a study of the markets to which they export. They are mostly outside the province. It is, however, interesting to know that at Daser Bazar, middlemen purchase for outside merchants on a commission of 6¼ per cent. Distant firms send representatives who purchase through these people. The middlemen purchasing on their risk and account are financed by certain local people who charge no interest, but in lieu thereof share 25 per cent. of the profits. At Daser Bazar, with the exception of one Mahomedan, all middlemen and their financiers are Das by caste. At Kaliganj the business is entirely controlled by Mahomedans.

IV.—FISHING NETS.

Demand.

1. A large and brisk trade in fishing nets is carried on in Karimganj. The industry is familiar but too unobtrusive to attract public attention. The demand for nets comes from the fish-catching classes, *viz.*, the Mahimals among Mahomedans and among the Hindus, chiefly the Patnis.

Besides the local demand for nets, Cachar is a large buyer and consumes about Rs. 50,000 worth annually.

Production.

2. The chief centres of production are roughly two, Sheola-Bairagi Bazar centre and Jaldhup centre. Angarjar and Balinga, near Sheola, are the two largest net-producing villages.

The makers are almost exclusively Patnis by caste. The net makers may be classed under 3 heads :—

(i) *Occasional workers.*—With the majority of men of this caste, it is a subsidiary occupation, the principal being agriculture, boat-plying and fish-catching being the second.

(ii) *Half-time workers.*—Landless Patnis whose principal sources of income are (*a*) boat-plying, (*b*) net making and fishing.

(iii) At Balinga and Angarjar, there are landless families whose sole occupation is net making and fishing.

Usually fishing nets are made only from hemp, much of which has to be imported, as the local supply is insufficient. But the spinning of hemp is difficult and there is a tendency to substitute mill-made cotton yarn both for its cheapness and the ease of its manufacture into nets. But cotton nets are much weaker and less durable. This year's rate for hemp is said to be Rs. 15 per maund.

According to their sizes, which are determined by the purpose for which they are meant, fishing nets are classed as follows :—(1) *Mahajál* (great net) for fishing in big rivers. These are made to order only and may cost up to several hundred rupees; (2) *Jál* (ordinary net) 7 yards × 7 yards. This is the size most in demand; (3) *Pelain*, a triangular net from 2 to 3½ cubits long, for catching small fish.

The quality varies—

(*a*) according to the strength of the string used (2- or 3- ply thread) ; and

(*b*) according to the size of the intervening mesh (from 1 to 3 fingers' breadth).

Prices and earnings.

3. Prices of nets, unlike the output of most cottage industries here, are subject to violent fluctuations. A slump caused by the sudden falling off in demand often reduces prices by as much as 50 per cent. This is possibly due largely to the market being entirely controlled by a small coterie of capitalist middlemen (also of the Patni caste).

The normal rise of prices occurs once in autumn (October and November) when the standing flood water begins to subside and there is a record catch of fish. The demand falls off gradually in winter and does not revive till the monsoon breaks in April. The difference in the level of prices between the 4 active months and the 8 slack months is accentuated by the poverty of the manufacturers and their consequent inability to withhold even temporarily the sale of the output. The selling price of ordinary nets of 7 × 7 yards varies from Rs. 4 to Rs. 25 according to thread and mesh. The monthly savings of a single man working half-time and getting his hemp spun for cash would be about Rs. 7-8. But in point of fact, the industry is worked on the family system. The women spin the hemp whilemen make the nets. Family profits therefore include profits of spinning as well as of weaving.

At the same time allowance has to be made for the fact that families which work full time are few ; most work only half time, for fishing and boat plying are very common additional sources of income even when a man has no land to till. The estimated average income from net making of such a family making 25 nets in a year is from Rs. 106 to Rs. 144 annually. In this industry also the middlemen with a system of advances of cash or hemp and purchase of the nets in favourable terms, have a stronghold. They succeed in cutting down prices to the workers to such an extent as to cause from 25 to 50 per cent. difference, between the workers' receipt and the local bazar price. The total volume of the trade is estimated at 1 lakh annually.

V.—*AGURU* (*Agar*).

The word *aguru* properly means the *attar* distilled from the dark brown hardened resinous juice secreted in the wood of the tree Aquilaria Agallocha and it is also used to mean the fragrant wood itself. Although the *Ain-i-Akbari* tells us that in Mogul times Sylhet used to grow forests of *aguru*, there is little found now in the district. The chief *agar* forests are in the Assam Valley and the Naga Hills, and discovery of the particular trees which happen to have developed the valuable secretion appears to be largely a matter of chance.

The raw material with adhering wood is brought to Sujanagar, Rafinagar and three other villages near Dakshinbhag in Sylhet, for distillation by the skilled workers there. There is hardly any local demand. Most of the demand is from other parts of India, where it is used in religious ritual, and from China and Western Asia, for which market it is bought by Arab merchants in Calcutta.

The industry cannot strictly be called only a cottage industry, for there are only about 40 families who own distillery plants. Most of the business is in the hands of two exporting firms who have workshops in the two chief villages. These employ a large number of day labourers, and also give out work on contract to those who prefer to work at home. The day labourers get 6 annas a day and the others are paid at piece rates. With the great majority the industry is subsidiary to agriculture.

The business is entirely in the hands of Muhammadans. There are nearly 1,000 workers in addition to the families who have their own stills.

There is no fixed market rate, and the prices are fixed by haggling. The three products, manufactured *agar* wood, *attar* and the residue or dust, all have their values. First quality material may yield Rs. 3-8 per tola for *attar*, Rs. 15 a seer for manufactured *agar*, and Re. 1-8 per maund for dust. Profits are high, some estimates varying from 66 per cent. to 260 per cent. on working a maund of raw material, but want of capital hinders the smaller manufacturer. Usually he has to approach the exporting middleman, who only agrees to finance him on the usual conditions, *viz.*, that the entire output be sold to him, and that the seller accept lower rates.

APPENDIX. F.

Family Budgets.*

1. *Cultivator—Nowgong.*

Village—Ghilani, thana Jamunamukh, mauza Kampur.

(*a*) A family of seven members.—Three males, one being old, one boy of about 12 and one full grown man, two females of full grown age and two infant girls. The females do household work such as cooking, house keeping, etc. They do not help in the field work.

Annual income.	Rs.
Paddy grown and taken 100 maunds, value	300
Matikalai	36
Sale-proceeds of vegetables and poultry	60
Fish caught and consumed	60
Cattle sold and hired out and milk sold	100
Loan taken	50
Total	606

Expenditure.	Rs.
Paddy consumed 56 maunds, price	168
Salt, oil, spices, etc.	36
Cloth	100
Fish	60
Fodder for cattle, etc.	36
Expenses for guests, birth and death, etc.	60
Religious and medical expenses	36
Price of milk	60
Interest paid	5
Land Revenue	20
Total	581

Majority of the people are in this state of economic distress, only 5 per cent. of the villagers are in better condition but about 20 per cent. are in worse condition.

2. *Cultivator—Lakhimpur.*

Family—Ordinary *Miri* cultivator :—Village—Bhadia Chuk, Miri mahal—Thana, Dibrugarh.

Male adult	2
Female adult	2
Male child	3
Female child	1
Total	8

Annual income.	Rs.	a.	p.
Paddy and mustard	762	0	0
Value of fish caught and consumed	50	0	0
Commission as Gum	25	0	0
Loan	30	0	0
Total	867	0	0

Expenditure.	Rs.	a.	p.
A—*Food.*			
Rice	365	0	0
Salt	5	0	0
Oil	13	0	0
Spices	3	4	0
Fish	50	0	0
Pulse	2	0	0
Tea	5	12	0
B.			
Betel-nut	11	8	0
Kerosine oil	1	10	0
Tobacco and molasses	9	12	0
Clothes	33	0	0
Country liquor	47	0	0
C.			
Festivals	80	0	0
Depreciation in plough bullocks	5	0	0
Purchase of implements	5	0	0
Poll-tax	6	0	0
Repayment of debt	30	0	0
Interest	9	6	0
Lent	20	0	0
Total	702	4	0
Balance in *dhan*	164	12	0
Grand total	867	0	0

* Remarks added in some of the budgets are opinions of the particular enquiring officers.

3. *Cultivator—Sylhet.*

Muhammadan of village Digband, Biswanath police station.

Family ... ... { 1 male adult. 1 female adult. 3 male children. 3 female children.

Annual income.

		Rs.
Value of crops, etc.	...	252
Wages as labourers	...	100
Loan	...	150
Total	...	502

Item of expenses.

A—Food.

		Rs.
Rice	...	288
Salt	...	5
Oil	...	10
Spices	...	5
Fish	...	12
Pulses	...	5
Vegetables	...	3
Milk and *ghee*	...	8

B—Other expenses.

Betel-nut	...	5
Kerosene oil	...	6
Tobacco	...	8
Clothes	...	20
Household utensils	...	5
Furniture	...	3

C—Miscellaneous.

Land revenue and rent	...	20
Local taxation	...	1
Total	...	404

4. *Cultivator—Khasi and Jaintia Hills.*

(Five members) 1 adult male, 2 adult females, 1 girl and 1 boy.

Jowai subdivision.

Village Nongkhlieh (Nongkhlieh Doloiship).

Annual income.

	Rs.
Value of paddy and other crops grown with vegetables, fruits and live-stock less value of seeds	311
Total ...	311

Remarks.

3 workers, 2 dependants.
Work for about 8 months in the year.

Items of expenditure.

A—Food.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Rice	160	0	0
Indian corn	15	0	0
Sweet potatoes ...	4	0	0
Salt	6	0	0
Oil	5	12	0
Spices	3	9	0
Fish	12	0	0
Vegetables	10	0	0

B—Other household expenses.

Betel-nut	8	10	0
Tobacco	2	14	0
Clothes	25	0	0
Household utensils ...	0	8	0
Furniture		,,	
Soap	1	0	0
Matches	1	7	0

C—Miscellaneous.

House repairs ...	7	0	0
Medical expenses ...	2	0	0
Domestic festivals and entertainments (*pujas* included)	0	12	0
Hire or purchase of raw materials and implements	10	0	0
Land revenue, rent and house-tax	7	0	0
Wages for field labour ...	10	0	0
Total ...	292	8	0

5. *Tea-garden coolie—Sibsagar (Jorhat).*

CINAMARA TEA ESTATE.

Family—1 male (Leboo Dhandasi-Telugu) adult, 1 female adult (working), 1 boy 6 years (non-working), 1 girl 4 years (non-working).

Works in tea-house for part of year, in garden for remainder.

Monthly income.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Pay for man ...	9	8	0
Pay for wife ...	8	8	0
Value of paddy grown in his own land Rs. 20 for the whole year, *i.e.*, Re. 1-10-0 per month ...	1	10	0
Total ...	19	10	0

This family is an average good tea-garden family. The family is a little above the average.

Monthly expenditure.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Rice	8	8	0
Salt	0	2	0
Oil	0	7	0
Spices and small fish ...	0	10	0
Pulses	0	12	0
Vegetables	0	3	0
Sugar, etc.	0	4	0
Other household expenses.			
Betel-nut	0	5	0
Tobacco	0	12	0
Kerosene oil... ...	0	3	0
Clothes	3	3	0
Liquor	2	0	0
Household utensil ...	0	3	0
C—Miscellaneous.			
Domestic festivals ...	0	8	0
Hire of cattle ...	0	2	0
Rent	0	4	0
Total ...	18	11	0

It is estimated that 20 per cent. of the families on the garden are above this standard, 30 per cent. of this standard and the remainder below.

6. *Tea-garden coolies—Sylhet.*

Caste—Oriya (South Sylhet).

Man, wife, sister (aged), old mother, child—2½ workers.

Yearly Budget.

Receipts.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Wages ...	204	12	0
Advance agreement	22	0	0
Bonus, monthly...	9	0	0
House repairs ...	2	0	0
Medical ...	6	0	0
Bed bags ...	1	0	0
Total ...	244	12	0

Expenditure.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Rice	104	0	0
Salt	3	4	0
Oil	3	4	0
Spices	1	10	0
Fish	1	10	0
Pulse	3	4	0
Vegetables	3	4	0
Milk	5	11	0
Gur	5	11	0
Kerosene	3	4	0
Tobacco	7	5	0
Liquor	52	0	0
House repairs ...	2	0	0
Medical	6	0	0
Festivities	2	0	0
Clothes	16	7	0
Bed bags	1	0	0
Utensils	2	0	0
Total ...	223	10	0

7. Ex-*garden coolie—North Lakhimpur.*

Village Sarigabari, near Silonibari Tea Estate—5 family members—2 men, 1 woman and 3 children.

Income (annual).

	Rs.	a.	p.
Rice	264	0	0
Vegetables ...	10	0	0
Fruits	6	0	0
Milk	23	0	0
Wages from garden ...	173	12	0
Total ...	476	12	0

Note.—This is a good class of *ex*-coolie family. Woman plucks for about 3 months, 2 men earn 6 annas daily, working about half the week on the garden.

Expenditure (annual).

	Rs.	a.	p.
A—Food.			
Rice, 42 maunds at Rs. 4	168	0	0
Salt 1½ seers weekly (cattle included)	12	3	0
Oil	26	0	0
Spices	13	0	0
Pulses	19	8	0
Vegetables	20	0	0
Milk	23	0	0
Gur	6	8	0
B—Other household expenses.			
Kerosene oil	7	5	0
Tobacco and molasses ...	15	0	0
Cloths	57	12	0
Opium	65	0	0
Liquor	1	0	0
Household utensils ...	5	15	0
C—*Miscellaneous.*			
Domestic festivals ...	5	0	0
Land revenue ...	9	0	0
Local rate	0	9	0
Repayment of debt ...	20	0	0
Interest for 3 months ...	2	0	0
Total ...	476	12	0

8. *Cultivator—Hand-loom worker—Cachar.*

Three workers and 4 dependants—working members engaged in work for about 250 days.

Income.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Value of cloth prepared and sold ...	40	0	0
Value of crops, etc. ...	200	0	0
Trade in bamboos, canes, etc. ...	70	0	0
Total ...	310	0	0

Thana Hailakandi village Nimaichandpur I —1 male adult, 3 female adults and 3 children.

Expenditure.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Rice	170	0	0
Salt	2	8	0
Oil	9	0	0
Spices	2	0	0
Fish	8	0	0
Pulses	4	0	0
Tea, sugar, etc. ...	8	0	0
Betel leaves and nuts ...	3	0	0
Kerosene oil ...	7	0	0
Tebacco	2	0	0
Clothes	40	0	0
Utensils	6	0	0
House repairs ...	12	0	0
Medical expenses ...	5	0	0
Domestic festivals ...	3	0	0
Land revenue ...	30	0	0
Local taxation ...	0	9	0
Total ...	312	1	0

9. *Cultivator-Fisherman—Cachar.*

Two workers and 3 dependants working members engaged for about 240 days.

Income.

		Rs.
Value of crops, etc.	...	160
Value of fish caught and sold	...	90
Total	...	250

Thana Hailakandi, village Nimaichandpur II—2 male adults and 3 children.

Expenditure.

		Rs.	a.
Rice	... ...	130	0
Salt	... ...	2	0
Oil	... ...	9	0
Spices	... ...	6	4
Tea and molasses	...	1	4
Betel-nuts, etc.	... ...	9	0
Kerosene oil	... ...	7	0
Tobacco	... ...	4	8
Cloths	... ...	25	0
Utensils	... ...	10	0
House repairs	... ...	6	0
Domestic festival	...	5	0
Rent	... ...	32	0
Local taxation	... ...	0	9
Total	...	247	9

10. *Potter-Cultivator—Nowgong.*

Village Kumargaon, Mauza Dergaon, P. S. Dergaon.

Potter family ... ... Period 1 year.

Male adult	... ...	3
Female	... ...	1
Male child	... ...	2
Female child	... ...	3
Total	...	9

Income.		Rs.
Value of crops grown, etc.—		
Rupit 12 bighas	... ...	240
Ahu land 4 bighas	... ...	50
Mustard 2 bighas	... ...	10
Pulse 1 bigha	... ...	6
Sale or hire of cattle	... ...	10
Money taken on loan	... ...	100
Pottery manufacture	... ...	60
Total	...	476

N.B.—The income of such a family depends to a considerable extent on the number of female adults, who work in pottery manufacture mainly. There is no family solely depending on pottery manufacture: every family has some cultivation as well.

Such families are 10 per cent., above this line 85 per cent., and below this line 5 per cent.

Expenditure.		Rs.	a.	p.
A—Food.				
Rice ...	... ...	300	0	0
Salt ...	... ...	5	0	0
Spices	... ...	2	0	0
Fish ...	... ...	10	0	0
Vegetables	... ...	3	0	0
Milk and *ghee*	... ...	6	0	0
Tea, sugar, *gur*, etc.	...	20	0	0
B—Other household expenses.				
Betel-nut	... ...	Nil.		
Kerosene oil	... ...	4	0	0
Tobacco and molasses	...	6	0	0
Clothes	... ...	40	0	0
Opium, *ganja*, etc.	...	26	0	0
Utensils	... ...	Nil		
C—Miscellaneous.				
House repair, etc....	...	5	0	0
Medical expenses ...	...	Nil		
Festivals, etc.	... ...	50	0	0
Hire or purchase of boat	...	2	8	0
Raw material and implements...		Nil		
Land revenue	... ...	26	0	0
Repayment of debt (principal)		20	0	0
Interest on loans ...	...	20	0	0
Release of impounded cattle	...	6	0	0
Gift in marriage ...	...	5	0	0
Total	...	556	8	0

11. *Coal-miner—Lakhimpur.*

MAKUM, MAUZA LEDO.

Family, coal miner : 2 male adults, 1 female adult, 1 male child, 1 female child.

Items of income.	Amount yearly. Rs.
Income per annum (all adults working), wages, 2 males at average Rs. 30 per mensem.	720
Wages, 1 female at Rs. 20 per mensem.	240
Yearly ...	960

It is very difficult to give any really reliable figures as the earnings and standard of living of the various classes of labour vary very much.

Items of expenditure.	Amount yearly. Rs.
A—Food.	
Rice 2½ maunds per month at Rs. 8 per mensem = Rs. 20.	240
Salt 4 seers per month ...	5
Oil 2 „ „ „ ...	30
Spices at Re. 1 per month	12
Fish at Rs. 5 per month ...	60
Pulses 10 seers per month	30
Vegetables at Rs. 2 per month	24
Milk and *ghee* at Rs. 10 per month.	120
Tea, sugar, etc., at Rs. 2 per month.	24
Live-stock, poultry, goats pigeon, eggs, milch cow and calves at Rs. 2 per month.	24
B—Other household expenses.	
Betel-nut at Re. 1 per month	12
Kerosene oil at annas 12 per month.	9
Tobacco and molasses at Rs. 2 per month.	24
Clothes at Rs. 3 per month ...	36
Liquor at Rs. 7 per month ...	84
Household utensils at Re. 1 per month.	12
Furniture	Nil.
C—Miscellaneous.	
House repairs and materials ...	supplied by Company.
Medical expenses ...	Ditto.
Domestic festivals and entertainment	12
Land revenue or rent ...	Nil.
Local taxation	Nil.
Repayment of debt... ...	Nil.
Interest on loan	Nil.
Any other expenses... ...	Nil.
Approximate yearly expenditure...	758

12. *Oil-well Worker—Lakhimpur.*

Village, mauza or thana Digboi (Margherita).

Family E, 1 male adult, 1 female adult, 1 male and 1 female child, 1 infant (male).

Number of workers ... 2 } Total 5 members.
Number of dependants ... 3 }

Items of income.	Rs.
Wages	276
Money taken on loan	29
Total	35

Items of expenditure.	Rs.
A—Food.	
Rice (including flour, etc.) ...	186
Salt	3
Oil	12
Spices	3
Fish (refer to all classes who spend money in fish)	10
Pulses	10
Vegetables	8
Milk and *ghee*	6
Tea, sugar, etc.	10
B—Other household expenses.	
Kerosene oil	5
Tobacco and molasses	4
Clothes	25
Liquor	8
C.—Miscellaneous.	
Firewood	12
Barber	3
Total	305

13. *Earth worker on roads—Goalpara.*

Thana—Bilasipara.

Number of members in the family.

Workers— { Male 1 Dependants. Nil
Female 1

Items of income.	Rs.
Wages	225
Total ...	225

There are no local earth workers. This budget refers to a pair of upcountry settlers who carry on their work throughout the year.

Items of expenditure.	Rs.	a.	p.
A—Food.			
Rice	96	0	0
Salt	3	0	0
Oil	8	4	0
Spices	1	8	0
Fish	6	0	0
Pulses	27	0	0
Vegetables	9	0	0
Milk and *ghee* ...	Nil.		
Tea, sugar, etc. ...	3	0	0
Live-stock	1	8	0
B—Other household expenditure.			
Betel-nut	Nil.		
Kerosene oil	5	4	0
Tobacco and molasses ...	3	0	0
Cloths	15	0	0
Opium, *ganja* or liquor ...	Nil.		
Household utensils ...	1	0	0
C—Miscellaneous.			
House repair and meterials	10	0	0
Domestic festivals and entertainment.	6	0	0
Purchase of implements ...	3	0	0
Land revenue or rent... ...	5	4	0
Local taxation... ...	0	6	0
Other expenses (Remittance to parents by M. O.)	20	4	0
Total ...	224	6	0

14. *General labourer—Khasi and Jaintia Hills (Shillong).*

Constitution of family—1 male adult worker.
1 female „ „
1 female child (14 years) worker
1 male child (6 years)—dependant.
1 „ „ (4 „) „
1 „ „ (2 „) „

6

Items of income—monthly.	Rs.	a.	p.
Wages, working for 20 days on the average, in a month—			
1 male adult at annas 12 per diem ...	15	0	0
1 female adult at annas 6 per diem ...	7	8	0
1 female child at annas 4 per diem ...	5	0	0
Total income ...	27	8	0

Items of expenditure—monthly.	Rs.	a.	p.
A—Food.			
Rice	13	0	0
Salt	0	4	0
Oil	0	1	0
Spices	0	4	0
Fish (dried and fresh) ...	2	0	0
Meat	1	8	0
Vegetables	1	0	0
Total	18	1	0
B—Other household expenses.			
Betel-nut	3	0	0
Kerosine oil	0	8	0
Tobacco	0	6	0
Cloths	1	0	0
Opium, *ganja* and liquor ...	Nil.		
Household utensils ...	0	3	0
Total ...	5	1	0
C—Miscellaneous.			
House repairs and materials	Nil.		
Medical expenses and *pujas*...	0	8	0
Purchase of implements ...	0	4	0
Other expenses (house-rent Re. 1, fuel Rs. 2-8, soap, etc., annas 8).	4	0	0
Total ...	4	12	0
Total expenditure ...	27	14	0

15. *Middle-class family—South Sylhet.*

The family budgets have been made for one year on actual enquiries.
Muharir in Government service (Muhammadan)—Srimangal—

Family members	Adult male	1
	Adult female	1
	Young son	2
	Young daughter	1
	Total	5

Income.	Rs.	a.	p
Pay of Rs. 30 a month ...	360	0	0

This is a faithful account. The family is in want. It is an instance of strict economy.

Expenditure.

	Rs.	a.	p.
A—Food.			
Rice	120	0	0
Salt 15 seers ...	1	14	0
Oil 12 seers	9	0	0
Spices	15	0	0
Fish	30	0	0
Pulses 30 seers ...	5	10	0
Vegetables	10	0	0
Milk	Nil.		
Sugar and tea ...	15	0	0
Total ...	206	8	0
B—Other household expenses.			
Betal-nut and pan ...	12	0	0
Kerosine oil 2 tins ...	7	0	0
Tobacco 24 seers ...	15	0	0
Cloths	48	0	0
Household utensils ...	4	0	0
Furniture	4	0	0
Total ...	90	0	0
C—Miscellaneous.			
House repairs ...	24	0	0
Medical expense ...	10	0	0
Festivals	2	0	0
Rent	2	4	0
Total ...	38	4	0
Total expenditure ...	334	12	0

16. *Middle-class family—Nowgong.*

Nowgong Town.—Sadr Police Station.
Clerk on pay of Rs. 68 per mensem.
Family—1 male adult, 1 female adult, 4 children, 2 nephews, 1 maid servant—9 members.

Items of income.

	Rs.
Annual salary	816
Value of crops grown with fruit ...	80
Value of cloth made at home ...	12
Cow's milk	16
Money taken on loan, including things purchased on credit	140
Total ...	1,064

The deficit is Rs. 93 (73+20). This state of affairs always continues.

Items of expenditure.

	Rs.	a.
A.		
Rice	280	0
Salt	4	8
Oil	27	0
Spices	13	0
Fish	110	0
Pulses	36	0
Vegetables	36	0
Milk and *ghee* ...	47	0
Tea and sugar, etc. ...	70	0
B.		
Betel	12	0
Kerosine	24	0
Molasses	7	8
Cloths	180	0
Utensils	10	0
Furniture	7	0
C.		
House repairs... ...	30	0
Medical expenses ...	30	0
Domestic festivals and entertainment ...	25	0
Raw material ...	6	0
Land revenue and municipal taxes	28	0
Refund of debt ...	120	0
Helping poor sister, subscription	30	0
Total ...	1,133	0

APPENDIX G.

Estimate of production and average individual income at prices prevailing in 1921-22.*

[Crops according to estimates of Agriculture Department.]

—	Outturn (000's of maunds).	Average wholesale price at chief marts.	Value of produce in lakhs of rupees.
1	2	3	4
		Rs. a. p.	
Rice (husked)	54,443	5 5 0 per maund.	28,92
Mustard	1,574	6 11 0 per maund.	1,05
Gur	867	9 0 0 per maund.	78
Jute	752	7 10 0	57
Other crops (cotton, sesamum, pulses, millets, roots, vegetables, fruits, etc.). Value estimated according to areas reported cultivated	...	...	5,23
Tea (value of exports 8,78 crores ; value to Assam taken at half this)	...	...	4,39
Coal, taken at annas 7 per maund *ex*-mines ...	8,441	...	37
Petroleum, taken at anna 1 per gallon of crude oil *ex*-wells	9·5 million gallons.	...	6
Fish, caught and sold or consumed, estimated value ...	...	...	40
Silk, cloth, limestone, forest products and small manufactures, estimated value	...	...	60
Total	...	...	Rs. 42,37 lakhs.

Population of Assam (excluding Manipur)	7,606,230
Average money value of annual income per head, 1921-22, nearly ...	Rs. 56
or per occupied house	„ 266

* See Chapter XII, last paragraph. The calculation, which represents production value and not actual cash income to the average peasant, is only a rough approximation. Some items in the list have probably been much underestimated (*e.g.*, fish and cloth); other items, such as live-stock profits, have been omitted.

No attempt has been made to estimate the shares of income taken by the trader, the money-lender and the rent-receiver on the one hand and the cultivator and wage-earner on the other.

SHILLONG : Printed and published by H. H. KING, Superintendent, Assam Government Press :
(Census) No. 23—782—22-2-1923.

00103310

Digitized with financial assistance from

H T Parekh
FOUNDATION

An Initiative by
HDFC
WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 27 November, 2018

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1921.

VOLUME III.

ASSAM.

PART I.—REPORT.

BY

G. T. LLOYD,

OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE,

SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, ASSAM.

SHILLONG:

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS, ASSAM.

1923.

Price Rs. [illegible] [Price illegible]